

ADMIRAL TOGO

By the same Author

Fiction

YASMINA
OPAL FIRE
THE LILAC TROLL

Travel

ALGERIA FROM WITHIN
A JAPANESE OMELETTE
THE DRAMA OF THE PACIFIC
INDISCREET TRAVELS EAST

Biography

INDISCRETIONS OF A YOUNG MAN



ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET, MARQUIS HEIHACHIRO TOGO, O.M.

ADMIRAL TOGO

The Authorized Life of Admiral of the
Fleet, Marquis Heihachiro Togo, O.M.

By
R. V. C. BODLEY

ILLUSTRATED

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To

EDWARD AND DIANA DELMAR MORGAN

With whom I spent some of the happiest days of my stay in Japan

PREFACE

“THE art of biography requires rare and special gifts. One essential quality is the power to reconstitute the scene in which the subject of the biography lived and moved. . . . I am all in favour of a biographer endowing his hero with virtues which he did not possess. But the biographer ought to be aware of the hero's failings and ought not to eulogize him blindly.”

The reading of the above paragraph, written by my father many years ago, caused me to hesitate before undertaking the responsibility of being the first to tell of the life of Admiral Togo.

Unlike most biographers who are able to delve into books by previous biographers, who can find material to work on in the histories of the period in which their subject lived, and have at their disposal libraries where they can consult all available sources, I was faced with the problem of writing the story of a man about whom nothing had been written before. To that difficulty was further added the fact that this man was little known outside his own country, and in that country was regarded as a sort of divine hero with no failings. In addition to this, the subject of my book was not only an Oriental with an entirely different outlook on life to an Occidental, but a Japanese, who again is unlike other Asiatics. It seemed almost impossible, therefore, to be able “to reconstitute the scene in which the subject of the biography lived” and not “eulogize him blindly”.

Against these objections there was the fact that I had just spent four years in the Far East, of which over two had been in Japan, where I had come to believe that I knew something of the Japanese people.

This belief was perhaps a little exaggerated, as no one knows much about the Japanese, for although they conform to the habits and customs of the West, their way of thinking remains entirely Japanese. This statement is not the platitude that it sounds, for the Japanese way of reasoning is different from that of any other race.

There is the time-honoured story of the Japanese business man saying to another merchant :

“You tell me that you are going to Kyoto because you want me to think that you are going to Yokohama, but I know that you *are* going to Yokohama.”

All thought, all discussion, all business in Japan is carried on in a kind of zigzag method. Everything which is said or done is with some ulterior motive ; everything is indirect in its idea, so that if I went to the Foreign Office in Tokyo to ask for some details about Admiral Togo's early life, the official questioned would at once begin wondering what I had really come to see him about, and in consequence give me a reply which was quite irrelevant.

However, the fact that I had reached a point where I had some notion of the reasoning of a Japanese mind, and had to some extent succeeded in seeing as the Japanese did, decided me to attempt the telling of the life of Admiral Togo.

If, therefore, there are shortcomings in this book, I would ask the reader to take into consideration the great difficulties which confronted me in piecing together the story of a man's life about which little was known beyond the outstanding facts and concerning which those who knew anything were reticent about speaking.

As a matter of fact many men did help me in my

task, notably Rear-Admiral Hasegawa, Vice Minister of the Navy, who had been a midshipman on board the *Mikasa* at the Battle of the Sea of Japan ; Captains Iwamura and Sekine of the Navy Department in Tokyo ; Captain C. H. N. James, R.N., one of the few British naval officers who served on board a Japanese warship under the command of Admiral Togo ; my old friend Mr. R. Kumasaki, who was on intimate terms with the Admiral ; Messrs. T. Kasé and K. Yoshida, both of the Foreign Office in Tokyo ; Professor H. Kodama of Keio University ; Professor Inouye of Oxford University ; and that delightful companion of many happy days in Japan, Mr. J. Kasai.

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INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH this book is primarily about Admiral Togo, the career of Japan's greatest hero is so linked up with the present-day problems of the Pacific that it has been thought advisable, before starting on the main theme of the biography, to cast a cursory glance over the whole Pacific question from the time that this ocean first became a centre of international activity.

While the Mediterranean has been regarded as the melting-pot of all early civilization, and the Atlantic has figured in that period of history which touches on the migration of the Old World to the New, little attention has been bestowed on the Pacific. In fact, the average man associates this area of the world's surface with coral islands and treasure-hunting schooners. Even those who read the pages of the newspapers which refer to the Far East are apt to regard this vast ocean as a private concern of Japan and America, whereas actually the rise of these two nations to a position of preponderance in Pacific problems is of comparatively recent date.

Although Balboa discovered the Pacific, very little is known about his life. In fact, owing to Keats' lines, many imagine that it was Cortez who first saw the Southern Ocean. . . .

Or like stout Cortez, when, with eagle eyes,
He stood at the Pacific, and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise,
Silent upon a peak in Darien.

But though a contemporary, it was not the "stout Cortez" who made the discovery, but Balboa, who was born in 1475 and had gone out to the Spanish Main in 1500, where he had been shipwrecked at Santo Domingo and become a farmer and later a gold hunter. He failed, however, in both these ventures, and fled from his creditors as a stowaway, concealed in a barrel on board a ship which landed him at San Sebastian. In the summer of 1513 Balboa set out to find the Southern Sea, and on September 25th saw from the peak of Darien a great expanse of glittering water spreading out before him. Like Sidi Okba—who claimed the Atlantic for the Mohammedan people in the seventh century, Balboa waded into the Pacific, the tropical sun glinting on his corselet and steel casque, and, drawing his sword, declared the "Southern Ocean" to be henceforward Spain's.

But though the King of Spain lost no time in sending his ships to take possession of this new maritime empire, poor Balboa does not seem to have benefited by laying the foundations of Spanish domination on the other side of the Americas, for within six years of sighting the Pacific he had become a victim of jealousy, and after a series of rather sordid intrigues was beheaded.

In 1520, one year after the death of the unfortunate Balboa, Magellan, a Portuguese sailing in the service of the King of Spain, set out to search for the Spice Islands ; and knowing that it would be risky to cross the Indian Ocean via the Cape of Good Hope (since the voyage of Vasco da Gama the Portuguese claimed this part of the ocean as theirs), determined to find a way by Cape Horn. The journey across the Atlantic was so rough, and the passage through the straits, which were later to bear Magellan's name, so difficult that, finding himself in a calm sea, he called it "Mar Pacifico".

When Balboa claimed the Pacific for the King of

Spain he had no idea of the immensity of his action, for, quite apart from the political importance of his discovery, this ocean is one of those expanses of water which to our mortal minds seems to be out of proportion to the rest of the world. Its greatest breadth is ten thousand miles, its length is about the same, and parts of its floor are thirty thousand feet below its surface. The floor is, moreover, in a perpetual state of unrest, and upheavals still take place which cause the water to boil and islands of molten lava to appear above the surface of the sea. Sometimes these islands remain permanently, and, cooling down, become inhabited countries with luxuriant vegetation. But very often a new island charted by the captain of a passing vessel has disappeared before anyone has had time to take possession of it. Most of the islands which run down from Japan to the South Seas have been formed in this way, and though I have not actually witnessed an island appearing out of the ocean, I have several times passed Urakas, which is still in process of formation, and have watched the lava pouring like a cascade of pure gold into the boiling sea. It was the eruption of Krakatoa in the Sunda Straits which sent a tidal wave round the world in 1883 and upset the weather thousands of miles away for months : and it is this constant shifting of the floor of the Pacific which makes Japan subject to earthquakes, bringing recurring disasters to the country.

Neither is the weather of the Pacific as calm as was supposed by Magellan, for not only are there typhoons, but perpetual winds which blow from the west to the east between the fortieth and fiftieth parallels, known in olden days as the "Roaring Forties".

The early part of the story of the Pacific is about the exploits of explorers, the most prominent of whom, Hernando Cortez and his friend Alvar de Saavedra, had already at the beginning of the sixteenth century ideas

about cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Panama, but gave it up when the news of Magellan's successful voyage across the Pacific reached them.

It is from this date therefore that Spain's activities in the Pacific began. In 1864 a Spanish expedition took possession of a group of islands thousands of miles away from the South American coast, and named them the Philippines. The Solomon Islands were also discovered about this time, and owe their name to the fact that the explorer who first landed there believed, for some reason, that he had reached Ophir from which King Solomon had obtained the precious materials with which he built the Temple of Jerusalem.

For twenty years after Magellan's rounding of Cape Horn the Spaniards had a monopoly of the Pacific ; but after this others began to hear of this new hunting-ground which seemed to offer opportunities for remunerative employment for enterprising seamen. Sir Francis Drake's name began to be feared by the crews of Spanish galleons, while the Dutch and the French were building ships in order not to be left out of the hunt after rich prizes, and Tasman went exploring about in that area of the Pacific which was later to become the foundation of the British Empire.

In 1503 a Frenchman called Benot Poulmyer had sailed to the East Indies, so that when the story of Magellan's discovery became known the French claimed to have been the first in the Pacific. Louis de Bougainville was accordingly sent to claim certain islands for the French, but he got into difficulties with the Spanish and British explorers, so, sailing on, discovered Tahiti and Samoa, and without knowing it rediscovered the Solomons, giving his name to one of the largest islands, as also to that beautiful climbing tropical plant the bougainvillea.

We are now moving forward into the eighteenth

century, and with the appearance of Captain Cook the Pacific really becomes a charted area of the globe.

Cook's name must be regarded as the most notable in the early history of the Pacific, as during his three voyages of 1768, 1772, and 1776 he explored the whole of that ocean from the north to the south and the east to the west.

The first explorers of the Pacific were followed by privateers and pirates, the difference between a privateer and a pirate being that the former fought and looted other ships with the approval of the Government of his country, while the latter did it on his own initiative. Drake, Hawkins, Anson, Cavendish were all privateers, but many of these men of illustrious name in the history of England were as unscrupulous about whom or what they attacked as the most notorious buccaneers.

But though these adventurers of the seas gradually put all the islands of the Pacific on the map, none of them seems ever to have reached Japan, or at any rate explored the country in any way. The Japanese islands were, of course, known, but owing to the strict orders by Japan's rulers to avoid intercourse with foreigners, it was impossible to make any kind of settlement in the realms of the Mikado.

The exploring, privateering, and pirating went on then until the carrying of treasures across the Pacific became too dangerous an undertaking to make it profitable; and with the disappearance of the source of plunder, so also came to an end the *raison d'être* of those who lived by it. The consequence was a lull in the activities in the Pacific. Commerce by sea did not in fact develop in the Pacific until the eighteenth century, and began with the whaling industry and the coming of the whaling clippers to the American west coast. It was, however, the discovery of gold and the consequent rush of people from the east of the United

States to the west which suddenly brought California to the notice of the rest of the world. From that moment everyone wanted to migrate to the west, and while some people came overland, many travelled in the fast sailing-ships round Cape Horn. San Francisco became a harbour of importance, and the trade between the United States and China began to be opened up.

All this, therefore, can be regarded as a kind of long prologue to the era in the history of the world into which young Togo was born.

Although Japan has to-day the second largest Fleet in the world, she had not, up to sixty years ago, been a maritime Power. This is a peculiar anomaly, for, being an island empire like Great Britain, it would seem probable that the Japanese would have had the same seafaring instincts as the English. It is even more curious when one remembers that the Japanese were warriors unsurpassed on land in the use of the sword and the bow, and that the Shogun's position was won and held through the force of arms. Wars in Japan, though often internal, developed an efficient military caste which lived for little else but its profession.

This internal strife was due to Japan's insular position, for had she been a mainland country, this war-like spirit would have found outlets in the defence against foreign aggression and expansion into neighbouring territories. The effect of the sea on Japan was therefore very great, though in the unexpected way of keeping her isolated instead of making her, during the early part of her history, into the Britain of the East.

During this period the Japanese remained profoundly ignorant of all that was going on beyond their shores, and owing to the facts mentioned above, saw no necessity to go abroad. Nevertheless, changes were going on in the East, and in the sixteenth century the art of ship-building was making progress, and even warfare at sea,

known for hundreds of years before in Europe, was being practised in a small way by the Asiatic continentals.

The early history of Japan's foreign relations is rather vague, but, as far as can be ascertained, it was not until the eleventh century that she was seriously menaced and came into open conflict with enemies from without. The first real invaders of Japan were a tribe of Manchurian pirates known as the Tois, who lived on the Asiatic coast between Korea and Saghaliën. These corsairs apparently scoured the seas in ships which must have been something akin to the Old World biremes, fifty feet long, in which a hundred men could be transported.

The Tois delivered their first attack against the Japanese on the Island of Tsushima in the Straits of Korea, where, curiously enough, nine hundred years later Admiral Togo was to win the most decisive naval victory in the history of the world. The inhabitants of Tsushima fought the Tois to the last man, and the raiders then made for Kyushu, where they disembarked without opposition. However, once on shore, they found the broken country quite unsuited to their tactics, and this disadvantage, combined with the ferocity of the Japanese swordsmen, completely demoralized them and sent the survivors fleeing back to their ships.

The defeat of the Tois, though in itself of no great historical importance, had the far-reaching effect of warning others on the mainland of Asia that an attack on Japan must not be regarded in the light of a picnic. The result was that for two hundred years the Japanese remained unmolested.

Early in the thirteenth century, however, a menace to Japan arose in China, which can be compared to the menace to Britain of Spain in the sixteenth century and of France in the nineteenth.

The redoubtable Kublai Khan, who had at that time conquered a greater area of the world than any other monarch before or since, decided that the whole of Asia should be his. This ambitious programme of domination of course included Japan. The only thing which seemed to place difficulties in the realization of this scheme was the strip of sea which separated Kublai Khan's vassal state, Korea, from the islands of Japan. Operations were accordingly begun through diplomatic channels, but soon realizing that the Japanese had no intention of listening to any such overtures, it was decided to deal with this recalcitrant nation by the same methods as had been employed in the other parts of the world which Kublai Khan had devastated. But as in the case of Philip II and Napoleon I, there existed that small but insurmountable difficulty of the island position of the enemy. Kublai Khan was not, however, to be frightened by mere sea, so he ordered the construction of a thousand ships capable of carrying a total of 40,000 men, though how he imagined he could conquer Japan with so small a force has never been explained. In 1273, all preparations having been completed, the armada set sail, and attacking first of all Tsushima, where the population again defended itself to the last man, made for what is to-day Fukuoka.

As in the case of the Tois, the Mongols were allowed to disembark practically unmolested, and, like the Tois, the moment they moved to the attack they found themselves in difficulties. The steep hills, the thick undergrowth and the muddy rice-fields hindered their progress, added to which the terrible Japanese swordsmen, fighting individually, threw confusion into the ranks of the troops accustomed to fight according to rules. A retreat was accordingly ordered; but even then the Mongols' troubles were not over, as hardly had they begun

to embark than a storm arose, and the ships made for the open sea in the greatest disorder.

In this preliminary expedition the Mongols lost 300 ships and 20,000 men.

It was Kublai Khan's first taste of war on sea, and, incidentally, of a reverse, but it did not in the least deter him from his ambition to make of the Japanese his vassals, and he at once set about constructing an even larger fleet. The Japanese, however, had learned a lesson, and realizing that if once the Mongols established a footing in their country it would be the end of their position as an independent nation, forgot their internal troubles and began training an army to defend their soil.

In 1280, Kublai Khan assembled a force of 150,000 men with sufficient ships to transport them to Korea. This concentration of a fleet of 4500 vessels and their simultaneous despatch against Japan, although seldom referred to, must be recorded as one of the finest pieces of naval strategy in the history of war at sea.

Kyushu was again selected as the point of attack, which is further evidence of how little the Asiatics of those days cared for the sea. Japan's main island would have seemed the obvious goal for any commander who was determined to inflict a crushing defeat; but the journey to Kyushu entailed less time on the sea, so to Kyushu the armada sailed. Part of the invading army landed without mishap at Fukuoka, while the rest disembarked at the Gulf of Imari. In neither case was any opposition made while the enemy was still at sea, this and is a further example of how little the Japanese knew about maritime warfare, for with the smallest fleet great damage could have been done to the Mongol transports before any of them could anchor.

However, this easy landing was only a respite, as once the invaders tried to advance inland they encoun-

tered the same difficulties as on the previous occasion, to which was added the opposition of a Japanese Army which had been training for years, and not only offered a stubborn resistance, but counter-attacked at every opportunity.

Demoralization was already beginning to take hold of the Mongols, when an even more relentless enemy than the Japanese appeared in the shape of one of the worst typhoons ever recorded which whirled down on Kublai Khan's fleet.

The consequences were as disastrous as they were immediate.

In a few hours practically every ship of the huge armada had been wrecked, and those Mongols who were not cut to pieces by the Japanese were drowned, only a mere remnant of the entire expedition ever finding its way back to Korea.

This was the last time for six centuries that Japan was to suffer at the hands of invaders, and it is interesting to note that the next expedition came from the West; but whereas the Mongols had only to negotiate a channel of sea one hundred miles broad, the Russian Fleet met its end after travelling 14,000 miles.

A lull of three hundred years fell over Japan's active relations with the outer world. Internal strife started again, and the only event of real importance was the first contact of Japan with the people of the West, who in 1540 appeared in the shape of Portuguese traders accompanied by Roman Catholic missionaries.

About the same time a name great in the history of Japan was first heard of—Hideyoshi, who, like Bernadotte, beginning life as a groom, had risen to be a general and later to the position of Shogun.

Hideyoshi was the first Japanese to found a Japanese Navy and send an expedition overseas. His opponents were the Koreans, against whom he declared war

because he wanted to invade China ; and the King of Korea, who was to all intents and purposes a vassal to the Emperor of China, believing that such a venture would be sure to lead to disaster, refused to allow the Japanese armies to pass through his territories. As a result of this attitude, Hideyoshi, who by now had a fully trained Army and a powerful Fleet, launched the Japanese for the first time on an adventure outside their own territories.

The main Japanese Army, under the great Konishi, landed at Fusan without interference, and in a few weeks had rolled up the Korean levies like a carpet, occupied Seoul, and was rapidly nearing the Chinese frontier.

Unfortunately for the Japanese, the successes on land were entirely counterbalanced by the reverses at sea.

The Koreans knew a great deal more about seamanship than the Japanese, and had, moreover, as commander of their Fleet a man called Yi Sun, who, though little referred to in naval history, must rank among the greatest admirals in the world. Not only was Yi Sun a strategist and tactician of the highest order, but he was a naval engineer who had invented a light battleship of great speed. He had armoured the deck of this early dread-naught, making it proof against fire, arrows, and bullets, and had placed upright spikes in place of bulwarks, which made the ship difficult to board. A ram at the stem made this craft a menace in offensive action, while archery ports ahead, abeam, and astern suggested the model for a modern battleship. Old prints of this vessel show an astonishing-looking structure suggestive of a gigantic floating tortoise. At the prow a fearsome head belched steam, while the stern was fashioned in the shape of a tail. There was no one on deck, the navigation being carried on from the interior of the ship.

Hideyoshi, who had evidently foreseen the victorious advance of Konishi's Army, had arranged to send the

entire Japanese reinforcements to the Chinese frontier by sea. The transports were divided into three groups and left Japan soon after the main expeditionary force, escorted by ships of war. Yi Sun came upon the first group at anchor near a place on the Korean coast called Ogpo, and without hesitation sailed straight for the enemy, leading his squadron in his dreadnaught. In an incredibly short space of time he had set on fire or sunk practically every Japanese ship. He did not trouble about those vessels which took to flight, for, realizing that this was only part of the Japanese force, he sailed eastwards and before long sighted a small convoy of enemy ships, all of which he sank with the same tactics as before. Sailing on again, he encountered the main Japanese squadron the next morning, and, in no way deterred by their numerical superiority, attacked them, and in a few hours had gained the third successive naval victory in three days.

From now onwards Yi Sun was master of the seas and consequently master of the situation on land, as every Japanese convoy which tried to convey supplies to Korea had to risk encountering this redoubtable Fleet. Yi Sun's rôle had become that of Nelson during the Napoleonic Wars.

The outcome of this Korean supremacy at sea was to compel the armies of Konishi to lose gradually all the ground which they had gained, and after a period of lengthy negotiations the Japanese evacuated most of the Peninsula and remained in fortified garrisons in the southern portion of Korea.

However, although Hideyoshi was certainly surprised at the turn which events had taken, he was by no means dismayed, and decided at once to prepare for a second invasion of Korea.

In this the Koreans inadvertently helped him, for Yi Sun, through the jealous intrigue of his fellow

admirals, was relieved of his command and his ships put out of commission.

In 1597 Hideyoshi was ready again with a new Fleet and an army of 100,000 men, which he secretly transferred across the Straits of Korea to reinforce the garrisons which had been left there. He appointed Konishi commander-in-chief of the combined force, and then, on some flimsy excuse, declared war.

The next sea battle was a complete victory for the Japanese. The Korean Fleet was sunk, and it looked as if this time Japan would have it all her own way. Hideyoshi had not, however, counted with the Chinese, who, realizing the mistake they had made before in not supporting the Koreans, sent a powerful army which completely held up the Japanese advance. The King of Korea had, moreover, reinstated Yi Sun as admiral-in-chief, who, collecting what remained of his old squadron, to which was added part of the Chinese Fleet, began to make things very unpleasant for Konishi. The Japanese armies had in the meanwhile been obliged to retreat and entrench themselves for the winter.

The whole campaign, however, came to an unexpected end by the death of Hideyoshi. His successor had always been opposed to the Korean adventure, and on assuming power recalled the Japanese armies. The evacuation was not, however, to pass off without difficulty. Yi Sun still waited in the Straits of Korea, and, falling on the huge convoy, defeated the Japanese in the greatest sea battle of this period. At the height of the action Yi Sun, like Nelson, was killed, and, like Nelson, died without ever knowing defeat. Where Yi Sun differed from Nelson and the admirals who followed him was that he fought all his actions without any previous lessons in naval history to guide him. His tactics can nevertheless be compared to those which were employed at the Battle of the Nile and at Trafalgar.

In spite of Japan gaining nothing material from this war, it gave her a vast amount of experience, and although for the next three centuries she made no use of this experience, and retired into seclusion from the outer world, the memory remained.

Three hundred years later the Japanese found themselves in practically the same locality, under practically the same conditions. At sea Togo commanded, on and Nogi, and whatever can be said about reincarnation, it must be admitted that all the lessons learned during those battles between Konishi and Yi Sun were remembered and put into practice. It was by Togo's spirit of offensive, which gave him mastery of the sea, that the Russo-Japanese War was won.

What would have happened if Hideyoshi's successors had continued the same foreign policy is difficult to say, but it is exceedingly probable that the Empire of the Mikado would have spread to the Asiatic mainland, and southwards to the Malay Archipelago and Australia, possibly to America, and to-day Japan would not be complaining about immigration restrictions or the interference by Western Powers in her affairs.

However, Japan decided to go into retreat, and from the middle of the seventeenth century we find her voluntarily taking no further interest in anything outside her home. The sea surrounded Japan on all sides, just as space surrounds a planet ; in fact, as far as the doings in the Western hemisphere were concerned, the Japanese might well have been living in Mars or Jupiter. Neither did the Japanese show any signs of developing themselves or making progress in their own civilization ; this was especially noticeable in matters military, for, at a time when their future adversaries were fighting the French and the British with long-range guns and rifles in the Crimea, the Japanese were still wearing armour and relying on swords as their primary weapons.

It is true that for some years after the death of Hideyoshi contact with the outer world was still kept up through the intermediary of the missionaries ; but even these were soon to be expelled.

Matters came to a crisis when a rumour was spread that a Roman Catholic owed his allegiance before all to the Pope. The Shogun of the time determined to deal once and for all with these men who interfered with Japan, and ordered a general expulsion of all foreigners. He further instructed the officials at all the ports in Japan to kill the crews of any ships which anchored in territorial waters, and in order to insure that his compatriots should not be tempted to roam abroad, he decreed that ships built in Japan should not exceed seventy-five feet in length.

The Pacific no longer counted in the lives of the Japanese. . . .

Japan's Rip Van Winkle sleep ended abruptly in 1853 with the appearance of Commodore Perry's squadron at Yokohama.

Like a pan of milk on a slow fire, the people of the United States had been gradually expanding from a comparatively small territory on the Atlantic, until, suddenly boiling over, they spread with relentless force towards the west, so that at the end of the century America found herself not only occupying the whole of the Pacific seaboard, but launched into empire-building far away from the Home country. The story of the annexation of Hawaii and the taking of the Philippines is not in the scope of this book, but it is the primary cause of the present situation in the Pacific, the secondary being also due to the imperial expansion of America. I refer to the awakening of Japan.

Long before there had been any question of the United States establishing herself on the Pacific, and when the suggestion of occupying islands thousands of miles away

would have caused consternation in the minds of those who adhered to the doctrine of President Monroe, American captains had been cruising about this new ocean. The China coast, Samoa, Formosa, and the Bonins, although quite unknown to the average citizen of the United States, had on various occasions been occupied by American sailors. Far-seeing captains had urged the Presidents in power to annex this and that territory, but without encouragement; and although in 1867 Alaska had been bought from the Russians, it had been done against popular opinion. But if the United States had made no effort to occupy any of the Pacific islands, she had done something else which was to alter the whole history of the world.

On July 8, 1853, Commodore Perry, acting with the full consent of President Fillmore, cast anchor off Uraga, and laid before the Japanese Government a proposal for a commercial treaty which was in reality an ultimatum to Japan to open her territories to foreign trade. The following year Perry returned, and the Treaty of Kanagawa was signed.

There is a certain amount of irony in the action of Perry, for, although by the signing of this Treaty he did much to promote American interests in Asia, his action had two quite unintended effects. The first, to open up the Japanese islands to European trade, and the second, to create a Power which was to become America's greatest rival in the Pacific.

The Japanese, however, had not been really intimidated by the demands of the foreign Powers, and once the first shock of seeing Perry's strange ships had worn off, they relaxed into their old attitude towards outside interference. They still believed themselves quite capable of defending their country against any invaders, and, having no conception of the progress made in modern armaments, considered that their antiquated smooth-

bore guns copied from seventeenth-century Dutch men-of-war were sufficient to repel the attacks of modern warships.

These beliefs were furthermore confirmed by the nearly successful attempt to sink the American ship *Pembroke*, which was fired at without warning as she passed through the Straits of Shimonoseki. In fact, for some time after this it became a regular practice to fire at all foreign vessels which passed in and out of the Inland Sea. Not even when the French retaliated by sending men-of-war to bombard the forts at Shimonoseki would the Japanese admit that foreigners were in any way superior.

It was an extraordinary attitude, bred by two and a half centuries of isolation from the outer world, and can be again compared to the attitude of people of another planet, who, suddenly confronted by unknown inventions, would be incapable of believing that they were superior to what they had always used.

The first definite eye-opener came at what is known as the Battle of Kagoshima, and, with that encounter, the first appearance on the Pacific stage of Heihachiro Togo, the maker of modern Japan. This incident has been described in its appropriate place in the biography, and will therefore not be dwelt on here.

The period referred to in the preceding pages covered centuries during which the history of Japan was as uninteresting as it was unknown. The next fifty years were to be packed with incident and make of the Japanese a people whom the rest of the world must take into account. To Admiral Togo, moreover, must be given most of the credit for this metamorphosis, for, although he always kept himself in the background, his place in the history of Asia is on a level with that of Kublai Khan.

CHAPTER I

SILENCE IN TOKYO

CITIES all over the world have reputations, some of which have foundations, others which have not. London is supposed to be grimy, Paris gay, New York busy. I do not know what general attribute is given to Tokyo, but above all it is noisy—a kind of aggressive, uncontrolled noisiness from which it is impossible to escape.

For a short space during the early hours of the morning a semblance of quiet descends on the huge city, but as the dawn begins to tinge the sky the roar of moving humanity rises like a storm at sea. Lying in bed one can actually sense this rustle of millions of people rousing themselves from sleep until, with a bellow, the city wakes into a tumult of sound.

When, therefore, on June 5, 1934—at the hour usually associated with the beginning of the Tokyo day—I automatically woke up, I remained puzzled at the uncanny silence. The grey light of morning showed up the opposite side of the street, but the rattle and the rumble of the capital was completely hushed. The squawk of the taxis, the roar of the tramcars, the tread of millions of men and women hurrying to their work had ceased as if the plague had fallen on Tokyo. For a few minutes I lay still, gathering together my sleepy thoughts, until, with the return of wakeful consciousness,

I realized that this was the day appointed for the burial of Admiral Togo. I left my bed and went out on to the balcony.

The heavy, damp atmosphere of those stifling June mornings, for which the Japanese summer is notorious, seemed to wrap everything in a misty pall of deathly stillness. It was as if Nature had joined in the grief of a nation which mourned the death of the silent Admiral who just twenty-nine years ago had annihilated the Imperial Russian Fleet in the most decisive naval engagement in the history of war at sea and made of Japan a First-Class Power.

The actual anniversary of the Battle of the Sea of Japan had seen Admiral Togo rapidly losing strength. On the following day he had fallen into a state of coma, and had died on May 30, 1934. So on June 5th, the greatest hero in the history of Japan was to be buried in the silence for which he had become famous, and Japanese from all corners of the Island Empire had come to pay a last tribute to the man whom, after the Mikado, they venerated most.

For this reason Tokyo was silent—silent as the warrior who lay dead. . . .

Admiral of the Fleet Marquis Heihachiro Togo was a man who never spoke except to give an order, who never expressed an opinion except when asked to on some matter connected with the Service, who never recorded anything in writing relative to his life. It is true that he was an expert calligrapher and spent much of his leisure, brush in hand, tracing intricate ideographic characters ; but these writings were for the most part poems or philosophic thoughts in which the Japanese rejoice. The task therefore of writing the Admiral's biography has been exceedingly difficult.

Many great men have had a reputation for silence,

but few have actually deserved it. They have made speeches, they have taken part in discussions, they have been known to converse. There have also been great men who have never written anything of literary importance, but they have exchanged letters with their friends or relations, expressing their views on current matters and giving an insight into their private thoughts.

But Togo never made anything but the most formal of speeches ; in his family circle he talked only of trivial matters concerning the home life ; he never discussed anything but naval plans, and he never wrote letters. Again and again we find cases of Togo merely answering "yes" and "no" to some question of vital importance. It has therefore been necessary to tell of his unofficial life from hearsay and fit the anecdotes, gathered from his comrades, into the history of the Japanese Fleet which Togo built up from a few wooden ships of antiquated design to one of the finest naval units of the world. . . .

My invitation to attend the funeral rites of the dead Admiral requested me to present myself at the gates of Hibiya Park at 8 a.m. I was there at the appointed time, and followed the throng of admirals and generals and statesmen who had come to pay their respectful farewells to the man whose genius had raised the Japanese nation, in less than fifty years, from a country of mediæval feudalism to the position of a State demanding naval parity with the two greatest sea Powers of the universe ; and, as I mingled with the glittering crowds on this hot June morning, my thoughts drifted subconsciously back to my early recollections of the silent Admiral whose life I was going to write.

My first memories of Admiral Togo date from boyhood days, when my father, wishing no doubt to make me learn geography and contemporary history in a practical way, came home one evening with a large-

scale map of Korea, Manchuria, and Japan. The map was hung on the wall of my schoolroom, and my father, producing some paper flags on pins, half of which represented the Rising Sun and the other half a light-blue cross of St. Andrew, began sticking them on to the map. Some of the flags he placed on that part representing land and the others on that denoting the sea. I noticed that the majority of the Rising Suns covered this latter area.

From that day onwards the names of Port Arthur and Chemulpo, the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, coupled with those of Nogi and Togo, Makaroff and Rozhdestvensky, became as familiar to my ears as Lady-smith and Colenso, Kitchener and Roberts. As the Russo-Japanese War progressed my interest in all the doings about Port Arthur increased daily, and when finally I was able, with one sweep of my hand, to remove all the crosses of St. Andrew from the oceans adjacent to Japan, Togo had become for me a kind of legendary hero like Odysseus or King Arthur.

I did not, however, appreciate, at the time, the significance of that sweep of my schoolboy hands or realize that on that 27th day of May 1905 a new nation had stepped into the limelight of the world stage and upset the whole of the balance of power in the Orient.

"The fate of our Empire depends on this action . . ." Togo had signalled from the foremast of the *Mikasa* as the Russian squadrons appeared out of the mist, plunging through the waves of the Sea of Japan. Well might he have substituted "Asia" for the words "our Empire". . . .

Five years later I saw Togo for the first time in the flesh.

I was then a gentleman cadet at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, and our battalion had been ordered to line the road in London for the coronation of George V.



GENERAL NOGI AND ADMIRAL TOGO ON THEIR WAY TO ATTEND THE
CORONATION OF H.M. KING GEORGE V.

We found ourselves in a favoured position at the entrance to Westminster Abbey, so that we could see all the great people alighting from their carriages and entering the porch where they awaited the arrival of our King.

There were representatives of all ranks from nations all over the world: Chinese in long robes, Austrian archdukes in white uniforms, Indians glittering with jewels, and Royal personages in such profusion that one almost became bored by seeing so many. Amidst this brilliant throng there suddenly stepped from a carriage a small man in a blue-and-gold uniform, looking outwardly like a British admiral, but whose cast of face showed him to be of another country. He paused for a moment, glanced sharply at the red-coated cadets who presented arms, and then disappeared into the entrance to the Abbey.

It was the silent Admiral, the man whose name had become as internationally known as Nelson's, and had been selected to attend Prince and Princess Higashi Fushimi at the crowning of Britain's King Emperor. . . .

Twenty more years passed before I was again forcibly reminded of the Togo of my boyhood, when I found myself, one bleak January day, shivering on the snow-covered hills which gird Port Arthur.

The silence of Arctic winter reigned over the frozen country as I stared incredulously down the precipitous slopes of the "203 Metre Hill", marvelling how the Japanese troops, without the assistance of modern artillery or aeroplanes, had been able to capture this reputedly impregnable fortress. My eyes travelled across the waters of the land-locked harbour to the open sea, frozen at this time of the year, and endeavoured to imagine the grim battles which had taken place between the Japanese and Russian Fleets during those long months of war. I tried to visualize again those icy nights

of torpedo attacks, those perilous blockades in blinding blizzards, those thundering encounters at sea which Togo, imperturbable and silent, relentlessly directed from the flagship *Mikasa*.

Port Arthur conjures up the names of Nogi and Togo, and has, moreover, been left in much the same state as it was during the fighting of 1904, so that one can reconstruct the titanic struggle which went on during those twenty months between the European giant and the Asiatic dwarf.

The fourth time that I found myself, so to speak, beside Togo, was standing on the upper bridge of the *Mikasa*, lying as she does now, in Yokosuka harbour. How small she looked compared to the mighty *Hyuga* at anchor in the bay outside ! How silent, yet full of unseen people, as if the spirits of the heroes who had died upon her decks were for ever clustering around the place from which their beloved Commander-in-Chief had led them from victory to victory.

The *Mikasa* was in commission for many years after the war with Russia, but she has now been preserved as a national monument and made to look as she did on that fateful afternoon of May 27, 1905. The hits by enemy shells have been marked in red paint, and it seems difficult to understand how she was able to fight on, shattered by the huge projectiles which seem to have struck her everywhere. The messrooms retain that rigid simplicity of the Japanese naval officer. The bridge from which Togo directed the Battle of the Sea of Japan, refusing to take refuge in the conning-tower, has almost become a shrine. There are plates to show where the various officers were standing when, for the first time, the forward turrets of the flagship opened their murderous fire on the van of the Russian Fleet. The Admiral's battle flag and the famous signal still fly at the masthead.

Out in the bay the units of Japan's ultra-modern

Fleet lie menacing and silent in the flashing waters of the Pacific. Line after line of tremendous ships, each of which could blow the *Mikasa* out of the sea with one salvo, wait for the day when they will be called to defend their country again ; but it is the spirit of this ancient flagship which gives these warships life, and it is the memory of the Admiral whose genius led the Grand Fleet of 1904 to victory which inspires the Japanese naval officers of to-day to consider themselves second to none in the world. . . .

All these thoughts crowded into my mind as I watched the throng of stern-mouthed men about me who had come to pay homage to this austere hero of Japan who, paradoxically, went to his grave in the pageantry which he had avoided all his life.

CHAPTER II

TOGO THE SAMURAI

THE most difficult thing to realize in connection with the life of Admiral Togo is that at a time when British youths of his age were attending school in England under much the same conditions as they do to-day, the future victor of the greatest naval battle in the history of modern warfare was wearing mediæval armour and relying on his broad-sword as his primary weapon of defence. It is just as if Lord Kitchener had had his early military training tilting in the lists, while his parents lived in a moated castle and fought their enemies with bows and arrows.

At an exhibition of "Togo's relics", held in Tokyo shortly after the Admiral's death, a picture was shown of young Togo saying good-bye to his mother before the Battle of Kagoshima, which took place in 1863. He is depicted as wearing a blue kimono with two Samurai swords thrust through his belt. His forehead is shaved and the hair done up in a top-knot, as in prints of old Japan, while over his shoulder he carries a matchlock reminiscent of the firearms used during the Wars of the Roses. Japan of the 1840's and 1850's had little progressed since the days of Kublai Khan, and the Japanese had the same customs as their contemporaries of the Norman conquest. The country was under the rule of feudal lords who, surrounded by retainers, lived in mediæval castles and fought one another with bows and arrows like the

English barons of the fourteenth century. It is true that firearms were in use, and smooth-bore cannons, discharging stone cannon-balls, were mounted on some of the fortresses, but the Japanese warriors fought chiefly hand-to-hand with great broad-swords.

Since the invasion of Southern Japan by Kublai Khan's armada in 1280 and Hideyoshi's abortive expedition to Korea in 1579, Japan had had no contact with the outer world. This isolation had, moreover, been voluntary, the Shoguns, or military rulers, having forbidden intercourse with the outer world and prohibited the building of ships of more than seventy-five feet in length. Occasionally missionaries came to the Japanese Islands to preach the gospel, but even these were eventually expelled, and the Japanese remained as a people living in another planet.

It was into this world that the future victor of the Battle of the Sea of Japan was born in December 1847.

His first ancestor about whom there is any record was a warrior called Mitsushige Taro Shibuya, who, for services rendered to the Shogunate, was in 1248 made ruler over five villages in the Province of Satsuma. One of these villages, called Togo, was given by Mitsushige to his second son, Saneshige Jiro Hayakawa, from whom the Admiral is directly descended, the name of the village having been later adopted as that of the family. The next three hundred years in the history of the Togo family have no outstanding features and record little else but continuous fighting with continuous reverses, and it was not until 1570 that it rose to a position of any importance.

The Admiral-to-be's father was one Kichizaemon, who was born in 1805. He was apparently a warrior of note and an educated man who took interest in foreign affairs but had the traditional hatred of foreigners. He was married to Masako, daughter of Yosazaemon Hori,

who belonged to the same clan as himself, and had by her five sons and one daughter.

One of these sons was named Nakagoro, and it was he who fifty-six years later was to make Japan into a nation which not only counted as a First-Class Power, but, before his death, had become a dominant factor in the balance of world politics.

When Nakagoro was born Napoleon and Nelson had not been so long dead ; Queen Victoria had been ruler of England for over ten years, and the builders of the British Empire were planting the Union Jack all over the world. The forerunners of modern battleships and long-range guns were known and had been made use of in the West ; while Japan was looked upon by the people of Europe and America as a group of small islands, somewhere in the Pacific, inhabited by a funny little people who wore their hair in chignons and made Japanese lanterns.

What is still more remarkable is that this Western conception of Japan and the Japanese was right. It is true that other things were made besides lanterns, but Japan was a picture-book country inhabited by a race of the past which measured everything by what occurred within the confines of their own shores, and had a sort of vague idea that there were no other people in the world beside themselves. This outlook has, moreover, not entirely disappeared, for although the Japanese have copied from the West and become a nation which has outward Occidental customs, they still regard themselves as a race apart, superior to all others and thoroughly fitted to dominate the universe.

Neither were Togo's contemporaries seamen, for, in spite of living in islands, the Japanese knew absolutely nothing about the sea, and on both occasions when Kublai Khan invaded Japan his armies were allowed to land unmolested because the Japanese had no ships in

which to meet them, while Hideyoshi's expedition to Korea failed because of the inability of the Japanese to retain command of the ocean. The nations of Europe have always had districts peopled by men bred from infancy to be seamen ; the earliest history of the old world is one of migration and conquest by sea, but at a time when the Western hemisphere was entering the mechanical age the Japanese knew less about navigation than we did about aeronautics.

When, therefore, in 1853 Commodore Perry appeared off the coasts of Japan with his "black ships", belching smoke and moving apparently by magic, and anchored outside Uruga, the Japanese gave one look at this terrifying spectacle and then fled, panic-stricken, into the mountains. This panic, however, was not entirely general, and the people of one province remained indignant but unmoved. These were the men of the Satsuma clan, to which belonged the parents of young Togo.

The Japanese of Satsuma had, owing to the necessity of keeping in touch with the Loochoo Islands, been obliged to pay a certain amount of attention to intercommunication by sea. The Daimyo of that district had, moreover, certain vague ideas about the necessity for maintaining some sort of naval force for the defence of his territory, and had in 1844 actually set about constructing a warship, modelled after a French man-of-war which had visited the Loochoo Islands. This action was at first considerably impeded by the conservative Shogun, but he was finally persuaded that such a ship was necessary to protect the interests of Japan in her outlying islands. Permission was therefore granted to construct this vessel, with a further concession, a little later on, to make real gun-ports with real guns instead of maintaining the old custom of painting these on the sides of the vessels.

Up to that time the Japanese considered that it was

sufficient in order to frighten the enemy to have make-believes on board their few ships, in the same way as their warriors wore grotesque and fearful masks in battle or as the ancient Greeks, to paint eyes in the prows of their vessels. Models of these antiquated boats and the strange armour with demoniac masks can still be seen in Japanese museums, but whereas relics of the same kind in Europe belong to an entirely forgotten period, there are men to-day in Japan who can clearly remember having seen them in regular use. Armour and bows and arrows are less remote in the history of Japan than crinolines and stage coaches in that of England.

The arrival of Commodore Perry at Uraga had the effect of suddenly awakening the Shogunate to the necessity of having something more effective with which to defend the country than painted gun-ports and hideous masks, so that the Daimyo of Satsuma found himself looked upon with favour by the Central Governments and given a free hand to construct ships. He accordingly set about building twelve vessels modelled on Western patterns and selecting men to serve on board. The flag representing a rising sun was designed to distinguish the Japanese from other craft, and a general spirit of maritime adventure was instilled into the minds of the people of Satsuma.

To Nakagoro Togo's feudal lord, therefore, can be attributed the foundation of the Japanese Imperial Navy which this child was destined to make into the great battlefleet of to-day. Togo's early education had, however, little to do with sea-craft, and differed in no way from that of other children who lived in those feudal times. His home life was simple, his daily routine regular, and was divided into periods of study and physical training. Calligraphy, which is the basis of all Japanese learning, was studied daily, and young Togo soon became an expert in the painting of ideographs.

In fact, the greater part of the exhibits of relics referred to previously consist of elaborately painted scrolls which the Admiral had executed during his lifetime.

Writing was followed by the reading of the analects of Confucius and other Chinese classics, which were in turn succeeded by swimming exercises, wrestling and fencing. The evenings were given up to the studies of warlike stories of old Japan and the inculcation of the spirit of chivalry and devotion to the country and the home. As far as can be ascertained, the young Samurai was a lad of courage and enterprise, inclined to be wilful and having a definite sense of humour.

The story is told of how one day, Nakagoro's mother having refused him some sweets on the grounds that there were none in the house, the little boy, waiting till everyone was out, went to the store cupboard and ate all the sweets on which he could lay his hands. When his mother returned and discovered what had happened, she called her son and asked him sternly if it was he who had taken the sweets. A suspicion of a smile crossed the boy's face as he replied :

"What did not exist could not be taken."

There are also instances recorded of his enduring chastisement and confinement at the hands of his father rather than alter his opinions or make apologies.

In 1860 Togo decided that, although not yet fifteen (the age of attaining one's majority in Japan), he did not wish to remain a child any longer, so, shaving the forepart of his head and doing up his hair in a top-knot, after the fashion of men, changed his birth-name to Heihachiro, and from this date was known as Heihachiro Togo.

The first salaried appointment which he obtained, on attaining his majority, was that of a copyist at the office of the Satsuma clan, for which he received half a bushel of unhulled rice at the end of every month. He worked hard all day and when he had finished would go out

and help his father with the tilling of the land until it was dark, after which he would settle down to the study of any books which he could find dealing with military matters, and especially gunnery. This martial spirit seems, moreover, to have formed the basis of his intellectual development, and whenever there was a holiday he would gather together other young men of his age and drill them upon the seashore.

In the meanwhile the Lord of Satsuma was making progress with the establishment of his sea force. The Japanese had by this time realized the danger which menaced them from the exterior and were eager to form a navy "to provide defence against foreign vessels and the arrogance of the barbarians which is becoming deep rooted".

A proclamation was accordingly issued calling for volunteers to serve on the new ships and be trained as seamen, for although there were plenty of men with a rudimentary idea of gunnery this island empire had no sailors who were qualified to handle vessels more complicated than fishing-junks.

Togo's father, who was a warrior by birth and as xenophobic in his sentiments as the rest of his compatriots, encouraged his sons to join this newly formed navy, although it required no persuasion to cause young Heihachiro to take up a career which already interested him.

Fate is a curious thing, for had Togo been born in Hakodate, or for that matter in Yedo or Kyoto, he would never have had the opportunity of acquiring knowledge of the sea at an early age or realized the necessity for creating a Japanese Fleet. For, as will be seen in the next chapter, it was the mere coincidence of Togo's birthplace which led him into a career which made of him one of the major instruments in the fashioning of modern Japan and the creator of one of the most formidable Navies of the world.

CHAPTER III

TOGO ENCOUNTERS THE BRITISH

TO English sailors can be attributed the fact that Togo modelled the Japanese Navy-to-be on British lines and made his early studies of naval matters in England. It came about in this way.

The Japanese, after their first panic at the unaccustomed spectacle of Perry's warships anchoring within hailing distance off their shores with no more concern than if they had been in their own territorial waters, had a reaction. Fear gave way to resentment at the impertinence of these "barbarians" who had landed with such impudence on Japanese soil. It was true that the Japanese had made no active opposition, but this did not mean that these pale people with an outlandish tongue were welcome. It was equally true that treaties had been signed and trade pacts agreed to, but these had been put into effect because the Government of Japan was powerless to do otherwise.

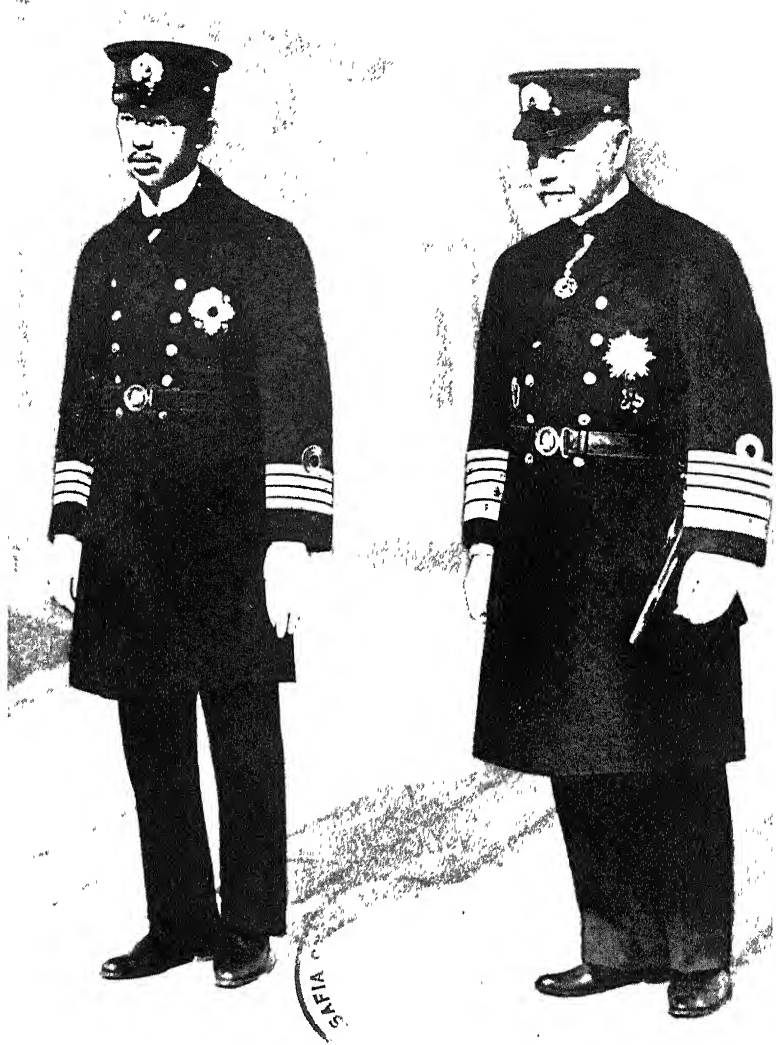
Hundreds of years of isolation had taught the Japanese to hate and despise people who came from the outside world, and although later on it was found necessary to copy the Western ways of doing things, this did not diminish the feeling of resentment. It can, in fact, be said that much of the animosity which exists to-day in the hearts of the Japanese for the people of the West is due to an inferiority complex bred by this necessity to admit that Occidentals could teach them something which they did not know.

In the meanwhile, however, the foreign "barbarian" was coming and going from Japan as if the country belonged to him, so that unless something was done to make life difficult and unpleasant for him he would remain, and probably encourage his friends and relations to join him. To-day the Japanese squeezes the foreigner out of his country by trade restrictions and taxes, but in those days such methods were not at their disposal. White men were robbed and attacked, sometimes murdered. Foreign ships were fired on from Japanese forts, and it was generally unsafe to carry on business except in restricted areas.

For a time the foreign Powers whose nationals had suffered slights were patient, realizing that the Japanese were, in many ways, little better than savages, who could not be expected to understand the principles of modern civilization. There was, nevertheless, bound to be a crisis, which eventually came when a party of Englishmen rode through the procession of the Daimyo of Satsuma, who was making his annual pilgrimage to the Shogun at Yedo. This breach of etiquette was too much for Samurai guards, who, drawing their swords, attacked the Englishmen, killing one and severely wounding the others.

As soon as the news of this outrage reached the British Government violent protests were made and indemnities asked for ; but the Shogun and the Lord of Satsuma, not realizing that when the Lion had its tail trodden on he bit, put the matter off until the British Chargé d'Affaires in Yedo saw that force was the only thing which would be understood by the Japanese. Accordingly, in the month of August, 1863, Vice-Admiral Kuper was dispatched with seven warships to Kagoshima Bay to open direct negotiations with the Daimyo of Satsuma.

During the period intervening between this event and



THE JAPANESE CROWN PRINCE, NOW THE EMPEROR HIROHITO, AND
ADMIRAL TOGO (TAKEN AT THE TIME WHEN TOGO SUPERVISED
THE PRINCE'S STUDIES)

the arrival of Commodore Perry, work had not ceased on the creation of a Japanese Fleet. But though the vessels—some of which had been made locally, while others had been purchased from foreign Governments—worked by steam and were fairly seaworthy, they had no real fighting value and would have been useless in any engagement with a Western squadron.

Japanese conceit was, however, still as strong as ever, and the British were regarded, with other “barbarians”, as people of no account and deserving of a lesson at the hands of Japan.

Admiral Kuper, therefore, found the Daimyo of Satsuma in no conciliatory mood, and after several days of futile parleying came to the conclusion that the only way to obtain the redress which his Government demanded was to demonstrate which side was the stronger.

Surprising as it may seem, the Japanese had no doubts as to the outcome of the encounter, and with cries of delight at the thought of at last trying conclusions with these arrogant white men, manned the forts which fringed Kagoshima Bay. Some of them were so anxious to get at the British before anyone else that they disguised themselves as merchants and tried to gain access to the ships lying at anchor : but this early attempt at working with false trademarks was frustrated, and these enterprising Samurai were forced to return to shore.

Among others who occupied the forts were Kichizaemon and three of his sons, Shirobei, Shokuro, and Heihachiro. The latter is described in a contemporary record as wearing a tight-sleeved haori, a short hakama, and a round hat adorned with the family crest. He had two swords at his side and a matchlock over his shoulder, and although there is no doubt as to the exactitude of this picture, it is difficult to reconcile it with that recorded forty years later of a man in a sombre uniform of the modern naval officer standing

on the steel bridge of the *Mikasa*, while its 12-inch guns hurled great shells at the Russian battleship 8000 metres away. However, for the moment there was Togo with his broad-swords and musket waiting impatiently to get at these insolent Englishmen who had dared to approach his native town.

Unfortunately for him, but fortunately perhaps for the future of the Japanese Navy, his hopes of a hand-to-hand fight were shattered, as the British seamen remained on their ships and began operations by taking possession of three vessels belonging to the Satsuma clan, which lay at anchor in the bay, and setting them alight. This was the immediate signal for the forts to open fire; but the Japanese guns were so antiquated, and the projectiles being for the most part made of stone, that little or no damage was done to the British squadron. The British gunnery, on the other hand, was most effective, and, by means of well-directed fire rockets, the greater part of Kagoshima was soon in a blaze, and as at the time of the battle a fierce storm was raging, the wind fanned the flames, causing damage amounting to considerably more than the indemnity originally asked for.

All these disasters naturally enraged the clansmen, who for the first time began to appreciate that all the Samurai spirit in the world could not counter-balance modern methods of waging war. In fact, so high did their feelings run, that many swordsmen, flinging off their clothes, dashed into the sea in the hope of reaching the British, but all were drowned. Others remained massed at the entrance of the burning town ready to meet the British landing-parties; but Admiral Kuper, having satisfied himself that all the forts had been silenced, and that most of Kagoshima would be reduced to ashes, ceased fire at nightfall.

According to Japanese contemporary accounts, the

Admiral then further incensed the Satsuma clansmen by causing his marine band to play light music, which echoed across the bay as an accompaniment to the fire crackling through Kagoshima. But then the Japanese had not yet learned that Great Britain never does things by half-measures. Patience is one of the Englishman's great virtues ; he does not immediately fly into a temper on provocation ; he waits to see whether matters cannot be settled by peaceful methods, and only when he finds that force must be resorted to does he take action. The action is then drastic and convincing.

Admiral Kuper remained three days anchored off Kagoshima to see that there would be no recrudescence of Japanese hostile spirit, and then sailed back to Yokohama with his squadron. The Satsuma clansmen, realizing that they were, so to speak, "up against it", paid the indemnity, regretting that they had not had the sense to do this before and thus avoid the damage done to their town as well as to their prestige.

During the whole of the action Togo does not seem to have lost his head in the same way as his companions, and retained that self-possession for which he was later to become famous. He served the guns of his fort and showed no emotion at the shells which exploded about him. In fact, he appears to have astonished everyone by his coolness and took no notice of the prancing of his compatriots on the seashore. When, however, the battle was over, he made two comments.

The first, that it was evident that cannon which fired round stone balls were useless against modern armoured ships, and could in no way be compared to the long, pointed projectiles fired by the British.

The second, that an enemy which attacks another country from the sea must be met on the sea, which can only be achieved by having an efficient Fleet.

Whether the comments of this boy of barely fifteen

were listened to has not been stated, but the fact remains that the Battle of Kagoshima was followed by great activity in naval construction throughout Japan. In 1864 an institute was founded for the study of military science, engineering, ship-building, and medicine, while in 1865 fifteen specially selected young men were sent to various countries of Europe to study Western methods. The Japanese Navy was really coming into being, and among the first to join the newly formed squadron were the three Togo brothers, Shokuro, Shirobei, and Heihachiro.

The consequence of these reforms was to weaken the power of the Shogunate, so that when, in 1867, the old Emperor died the Shogun gave up his position and handed over the administrative authority to the young Emperor. It is from this date that began the period in Japanese history known as Restoration to Imperial Government.

The Restoration did not, however, bring immediate peace to the country, for, although the Shogun had disappeared, there were numbers of feudal lords who had no desire to give up their privileges, which would place them on the same level as everyone else in Japan. The attitude of these noblemen resulted therefore in a long period of civil war.

The situation was rendered all the more difficult by the growing insistence of European Powers on the opening of Japan to foreign trade. Realizing, moreover, after the Battle of Kagoshima, that the Japanese responded to force, these demands were supported by ships of war. Various naval demonstrations were made, of which the most important was that of a combined American, British, Dutch, and French fleet which attacked the Daimyo of Choshu, who had developed an annoying habit of firing at all foreign ships which passed through the Straits of Shimonoseki. The allied

expedition with its long-range guns met with as much success as Admiral Kuper at Kogoshima, and thereafter ships entered and left the inland sea unmolested. But though the "barbarians" had asserted their authority, the "last of the barons" were recalcitrant, and saw only in the change of government submission to foreign domination. It soon became evident, therefore, that the only solution to the problem could be brought about by war.

Togo was at this time serving on board the Government ship *Kasuga*, a 1000-ton wooden paddle-steamer built at Cowes, and in January of 1868 took part in his first naval battle against the partisans of the old régime.

This action began off the coast of Awa with an attack by the rebel flagship *Kaiyo*, a wooden screw-propelled steamer of about the same size as the *Kasuga*.

The first shots were exchanged at a range of 2800 metres, but were ineffective, and it was not until 1200 metres separated the two vessels that a shot fired by young Togo scored the first hit. The *Kaiyo* replied with a broadside, and having a superior armament to her enemy, the *Kasuga* began to suffer. The *Kasuga* was, however, a faster ship, capable of seventeen knots to the *Kaiyo*'s twelve, so that she quickly moved out of range. The battle went on intermittently all day and was finally broken off at dusk, both vessels being able to return to their respective harbours under their own steam.

The Japanese on both sides claimed that the victory had been theirs, and if the results were so indefinite it was due to the fact that, warfare up to date having been confined to hand-to-hand encounters with swords when each warrior fought for himself, a fight where the combatants were separated by a thousand metres or so could not be properly understood.

The days of boarding were, however, by no means over, and on several occasions during the course of the civil war bloodthirsty encounters took place on the decks of Japan's new Fleet when, in true Samurai fashion, officers and men slaughtered their enemies with long sweeps of their broad-swords. The old spirit of one warrior attacking groups of enemies remained in the minds of these early Japanese mariners, and there were many instances of one battleship sailing fiercely into the midst of six or eight other vessels and fighting desperately until it was sunk or all the crew had been killed. Togo, who witnessed one of these heroic encounters, remarked that "the days of boarding are over and in the future naval actions must be fought at distant ranges". He also advocated the employment of small protective craft which would obviate these sudden attacks of one battleship on other battleships while they lay at anchor.

His summing-up of this phase in Japanese naval development is worth quoting, as showing how much more advanced his ideas were than those of his contemporaries. He said :

At the time of the Hakodate war, our Navy was in a very primitive state. It seemed incredible to me at the time that we should have been able to carry on such a war at all, as our predominating thought was not on how to win a battle but how to die nobly in a fight.

However, the war did drag on, the Government troops gradually defeating the rebels all over Japan, until finally the last groups of feudal lords and their retainers had been driven into Hokkaido and, besieged by land and blockaded by sea in Hakodate, surrendered.

In June of 1869 peace was signed and Japan found herself more united than she had ever been before. It is at this date that the Meiji Yera, which was to see such

incredible changes in the history of the Japanese people, really begins.

Togo had had his first lessons of warfare at sea fighting his own countrymen, but he had gained experience, and though there are no records of outstanding deeds of valour on his part, his mind was developing, and with this development the future of the Imperial Japanese Navy was being laid on a concrete base and would one day rise to being one of the finest fighting forces of the world.

CHAPTER IV

TOGO GOES TO ENGLAND

ALTHOUGH Togo was now over twenty, and had served as an officer throughout a series of campaigns, he was not in the eyes of the Japanese an educated man. He accordingly left the *Kasuga* at Kagoshima and returned to his studies.

Finding, however, that he could not really obtain all the instruction he needed in a provincial city, he decided to establish himself nearer the capital, and in the autumn of 1869 he migrated to Yokohama, where he boarded with an English-speaking Japanese and began for the first time to study a foreign tongue. At the same time he attended a local school, and made such good progress that he was able, in 1870, to enter the *Rinsho Mitsukuri*, which was one of the first institutions in Japan to specialize in the teaching of foreign languages.

Togo was apparently what is termed at Eton a "sap", and, like all young men in scholastic communities who give up the greater part of their time to study, was not popular among his school-fellows. However, teasing or bullying was not going to deflect this future commander-in-chief from a course which he had once decided to follow. He worked all the day and much of the night, until he soon found himself the head of the school.

In the meantime, the development of the Japanese Navy was progressing. A naval training-school had

been established and the services of a British naval officer secured to supervise the instruction of commissioned and petty officers. The actual training of these men took place on board a new, partially armoured, wooden battleship of 2500 tons called *Ryojo*.

Togo's course of instruction lasted about a year, and in the early spring of 1871 he found himself with his first regular appointment as a naval cadet with a salary of fifteen yen a month.

This is the first occasion on which we hear of Togo officially as a member of the Japanese Imperial Navy.

The young man was, however, by no means satisfied with this promotion, and felt that there was much more for him to learn before he could feel himself qualified to take a prominent part in the naval affairs of his country.

His opportunity came unexpectedly in April 1871, when it was decided that a selection should be made among cadets who had shown proficiency above the average for the purpose of sending them for a course of special study in England and the United States. Togo immediately applied for a vacancy, and, as was to be expected, was selected with a few others and ordered to proceed to England.

This sudden and radical change in Togo's existence, when considered in perspective, is difficult to appreciate. Only eight years had passed since the young Samurai had waited impatiently on the beach of Kagoshima to try his Japanese sword against a British cutlass, and now he was going to the land of those very "barbarians" who had burned down his native town in order to learn the mysteries of their craft. From that day onward, for over two years, he was to obey officers of a people whom he had been brought up to despise and regard as an uncouth race of savages worthy only of being hacked to pieces by Samurai in top-knots and armour ! However,

Fate was to play even more remarkable tricks with the young retainer of the Satsuma clan before he died, and it was with feelings of anticipatory pleasure that he embarked on board a French merchantman at Yokohama, from which he transferred at Hongkong to a west-bound British vessel.

The journey does not seem to have been eventful. Togo and his companions studied their English books and in the evenings sat in a circle singing Biwa songs to the accompaniment of a twanging samisen. At Suez they apparently took to camels and rode across the desert to Alexandria, where they boarded another British ship, which eventually delivered them at Southampton. What happened to the other Japanese cadets records do not relate, but Togo, who according to contemporary photographs was a frail young man with a pale face and a straggly beard, took lodging with a middle-class family in Portsmouth, where for six months he endeavoured to improve his English and make himself familiar with the manners and customs of these "island barbarians".

These first weeks in England must have been exceedingly difficult for Togo. Like many Japanese of to-day, he could read English, but his speaking vocabulary was limited to "good morning" and "thank you". An English student, however, took a liking to the lonely little Japanese, chiefly owing to his extraordinary politeness (even the servants in the boarding-house could not get over the way in which this queer little man with the almond eyes bowed and smiled whenever he wanted anything done), and looked after him like an elder brother.

After five weeks of intensive listening to his new friend, Togo began to feel more self-confident, and wrote a letter to a student who had gone away for a few days which began : "*When we shall meet next week I shall be conversation to understand you. . . .*"

He seems, moreover, to have been liked by his companions, among whom he always showed the gayest humour. He had, nevertheless, already developed the gift of silence and never wasted words. This was not the taciturnity of a foreigner in England finding it difficult to make himself understood, but the fundamental belief that spoken words had values which must not be wasted. The minutest details never escaped him, and there was never any necessity for his tutor to ask him if he understood this or that. There was in his eyes an ample assurance that he had grasped his lesson and was ready for more.

Togo's next step into English life was over the threshold of a rectory near Portsmouth, where a clergyman "crammed" young men for the Services. Shattering again must have been this experience for one of Togo's origin and upbringing.

On the one hand an aged Protestant Divine of the 1870's with all the traditions of Victorian England behind him ; on the other a youth of twenty-three whose first lessons had been in the rough school of the Japanese Samurai, who could wield a two-handed sword like a Tudor mercenary, whose training in archery had been the same as that of the British bowmen who fought at Agincourt, and whose recollections of foreign ministers of religion were connected with formal instructions to behead any who set foot on Japanese soil.

Where now were the glistening armour and the fearsome war masks, where were the eight-foot bows and singing arrows, where were the clansmen lying in wait for the unwary white man who ventured anywhere near the Empire of the Mikado ?

Prayers before breakfast, porridge, eggs-and-bacon, a game of cricket, matins and even-song, the study of English military history had suddenly come into Togo's

life, temporarily blotting out the past. But only temporarily, for although Togo's affection for England never died, it was his rigorous early training among the Satsuma warriors which made him into the great man he became and caused him to be, before all, a servant of the Japanese Empire.

It had been originally intended to send the Japanese cadets to the Royal Naval College, but for some reason this project was altered and Togo was appointed to the training-ship *Worcester*, where he remained for two years.

During this period he again displayed his studious qualities, but, being handicapped by having to learn in a language which was foreign to him, he was inclined to be slow. In spite, however, of these difficulties, he was never at the bottom of his class. His algebra was his best subject, and he won a prize for turning in a lower rigging dead-eye with a piece of hemp rope. His strength was in his memory, for once he had mastered a subject he never forgot it. His behaviour was excellent and, although quite unassuming, he did not permit undue ragging from his fellow cadets. Up to a certain point he would good-humouredly stand the teasing, but when the boys went too far, and especially when they called him "Johnny Chinaman", Togo would make it exceedingly clear that he would deal roughly with those who persisted in those jokes which he did not like. As he was expert at judo and known to be fearless, the ragging never went very far.

But what an extraordinary sensation it must have been for this Oriental youth to live among a crowd of young men who had practically no idea where Japan was and regarded the Chinese and Japanese as belonging to the same race ! What an incredible shock to discover that during those centuries when Japan lived in the belief that nothing counted outside her own territory



AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE JAPANESE ARMY DURING THE SIEGE OF PORT ARTHUR, DECEMBER 1904
(ADMIRAL TOGO AND GENERAL NOGI, FOURTH AND FIFTH FROM LEFT OF FRONT ROW)

the rest of the world had been evolving a mode of living to which the Japanese must adapt themselves at once if they wanted to be a Great Power !

Togo's gunnery course took place on board the *Victory*, and it so happened that this coincided with the anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar. An address was given to the *Worcester* boys by a staff-officer who insisted on the importance of all seamen developing the Nelson spirit. After the address the Admiral's famous signal was hoisted while the cadets stood to attention. It is improbable, however, that anyone present on board the *Victory* on that October day of 1873 could have predicted that on very nearly the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Trafalgar a frail little Oriental, now looking up at Nelson's flags fluttering in the breeze, would hoist a no less famous signal himself and win a no less decisive naval battle. In fact, contemporaries of Togo on board the *Worcester* have said that while realizing that their Japanese fellow-cadet had a determination of steel and never changed his purpose once his mind was made up, he was not regarded as particularly brilliant or as one whose name would one day figure in world history.

What did strike people was Togo's interest in all matters to do with the sea. Other cadets, once their work was finished, wanted, like other boys, to play ; but Togo would spend his leisure watching the ships passing up and down the river and asking endless questions about the rig and tonnage. The tactics which were taught in the higher classes of the training-ship also excited his keenest interest. But then it must be remembered that this knowledge had to be stored up for the benefit of the Japanese Navy which Togo now knew was still in a state of infancy.

Togo apparently did not like the food on board the *Worcester*, and complained that the English were small eaters in comparison with the Japanese. I do not know

whether at this time the meals in Japan were more substantial than they are to-day, as the usual complaint by foreigners is that the Japanese diet is more suitable for canaries than for human beings. What Togo probably missed was the ever-ready rice, of which bowl after bowl is taken until the diner feels satisfied and replete. But Togo felt hungry, and surprised his shipmates by soaking chunks of bread in tea, which he ate after the regular meals were over.

When he had completed his two years' training on board the *Worcester* Togo joined a sailing-ship of 1200 tons called the *Hampshire* and in February left with her for Melbourne. The vessel sailed via the Cape and apparently touched at no ports until she arrived in Australia on May 14, after a voyage of seventy days.

Togo again thought the British food on board insufficient, and during the two months which the *Hampshire* remained in port he regaled himself at restaurants with all kinds of dishes, of which the majority were composed of vegetables. He also made some excursions into the interior of Australia, and was astonished to find a country comparatively close to Japan so developed and so beautiful but of which he had never heard a word spoken before he came to England.

On July 11 the *Hampshire* left Melbourne, and this time sailed via Cape Horn, reaching London at the end of September. During those seven months Togo had travelled over 30,000 miles, and had been round the world.

Satisfied, therefore, that he had all the experience he needed in actual navigation, Togo temporarily gave up the sea and went to Cambridge, where he studied mathematics. There is little recorded regarding how he spent his time at the University, but, as he was by now getting on for thirty, it is improbable that he took any part in undergraduate life.

In the meantime, things had been developing in Japan. The Navy Department had been created and it had been decided to build a proper Fleet for the defence of Japanese coasts. (Up to that time the Japanese Navy consisted of seventeen obsolete ships with a total displacement of 13,000 tons.) Three battleships of 3000 tons each were ordered to be laid down in British dockyards, and Togo was told to remain in England until these vessels were ready to be commissioned. He therefore established himself in Greenwich, where one of the new battleships was being built, and devoted his time to the study of naval engineering.

The ships were completed in February of 1878, and after undergoing satisfactory trials were ordered to Home waters. With the exception of Togo, the officers and crew of these vessels during their journey East were British. They travelled without mishap via Suez and arrived at Yokohama on May 22, 1878, when they were handed over to the Japanese Navy Department.

On reaching Japan, Togo found disquieting news. During his absence the Satsuma clan had again rebelled against the Central Government, and this had, of course, involved the whole of the Togo family. Togo's elder brother had been killed during the hostilities; but although Togo was much attached to his family he did not allow the news to affect him. He was now a servant of the Japanese Central Government, and to that Government he must remain loyal regardless of family opinion. How he was esteemed by his superiors is shown by the fact that this disaffection on the part of the Togos did not affect the reputation of the young cadet just back from England, and he was able to take his place in the Japanese Navy without any further comments being made about the conduct of his relatives.

This therefore closes what may be regarded as

Togo's youth. He was now experienced not only in matters naval, but also in the ways of the great world to the West. His future lay before him, and, as will be seen in succeeding chapters, it was to be one of greatness unsurpassed in the history of Japan.

CHAPTER V

TOGO BECOMES A JUNIOR OFFICER IN THE JAPANESE NAVY

FURTHER evidence that no stigma was attached to Heihachiro Togo's name in connection with the rebellion of the Satsuma clan is found with his promotion in May of 1878 to the rank of first-class sub-lieutenant and appointment to the *Hiei*, which he had helped to bring out from England.

Togo was at first considerably handicapped in his duties by the fact that the only words of command which he knew were in English, and many of the new Japanese naval terms were strange to him. Some of his shipmates, rather jealous of the young man who had studied with a first-class Navy, were inclined to make fun of him in front of his men on account of his linguistic deficiencies. Togo, however, remained quite unperturbed and told his brother officers in no uncertain terms to "mind their own business", and further conveyed to his subordinates that his orders were orders no matter how they were given, and that if disobeyed there would be trouble. Again no one dared to stand up against him, and he continued giving his orders as he pleased.

In the same way the more senior officers of the new battleships, anxious to see what Togo had learned in England, and no doubt at heart a little anxious to prove that foreign training was of no great value, set the newly appointed sub-lieutenant unexpected and difficult

duties to perform. But Togo was equal to everything and, while complying with the orders of his superiors, continued doing his work in his own way. This stubbornness at first annoyed those about him, but realizing, after a while, that they were dealing with no ordinary man, he was allowed to go his own way.

Togo never argued, he never discussed anything, he hardly ever spoke ; he decided what he wanted to do and then did it. There is no record, even at this period of his life, of any conversation or discourse regarding what he had done in England. The Japanese, like most other Oriental races, adorn their conversation with flowery trivialities and employ a great number of words where a few would be sufficient. They rarely express a definite opinion, lest it should shock someone's susceptibilities, and they regard the Occidental's brusque way of doing things and his coming to the point without preliminaries as exceedingly ill-mannered. But with Togo it was entirely different. When asked a question, he thought for a moment and then replied "Yes" or "No". If something was not made quite clear he would say, "I don't understand." He never showed emotion of any kind, neither did he ever seem to be conscious of the great things which he had achieved. I do not think that there has ever lived such a silent, reserved, and stubborn a man.

The story of Togo's life as a junior officer in the Imperial Japanese Navy is one of experiments with the new ships followed by cruises which gradually moved further and further away from Japan. The Japanese were at last becoming sea-minded and, realizing what the possession of an efficient Fleet might lead to, were using their new squadrons with intelligence.

Togo's promotion to the rank of lieutenant came quickly in December of 1878, when he was serving on board the *Fuso*, and, transferred a year later back to the *Hiei*, he became a lieutenant-commander, which was

almost immediately followed by his appointment to the post of vice-commander of the *Jingei*, a wooden ship of 1500 tons.

This position gave him his first opportunity of showing his worth not only as an executive officer but also as an administrator of the interior economy of his ship. He was stern but just with those under him and made it a rule to allow as little difference as possible to exist between the life of the officers and the common seamen. That is to say, if the men had some unpleasant task to perform, such as the scrubbing of decks in bare feet on a bitter winter's morning, Togo himself would superintend the work, barefooted. It is undoubtedly due to this close contact which he always maintained with his subordinates which made him beloved and trusted by all ranks.

In February 1882, Togo married Tetsuko, a daughter of one of the former Satsuma clansmen called Nobuyoshi Kaiyeda. The young lady was but nineteen, and is reputed to have been not only beautiful, lively, and virtuous, but also an heiress, bringing with her a substantial dowry. This small fortune came at a very appropriate moment for the young Japanese commander as, owing to the Satsuma rebellion, Togo's family had lost practically all they had, and he had little pocket-money outside the meagre pay of a Japanese naval officer.

The first thing, therefore, that Togo did after his marriage was to buy a house in Tokyo, in which he established his bride and her mother. It was in this same house, moreover, that the veteran Admiral died fifty years later, and although it had been added to at various times it retained all the simplicity of those days of early married life.

It was shortly after this event that Togo's duties began, taking him outside the confines of the Japanese Empire.

The first trip was to Korea, where he had a preliminary glimpse of the scene of his trials and triumphs to be. The immediate cause for this cruise of Japanese battleships was the unsettled state of affairs in the Chosen Peninsula which had been brought about by the jealousy and ill-feeling of the Conservative Party in the Korean Government, which saw in the emulation of Japan's reforms a death-blow to reaction. The Progressive group of Koreans had, on the other hand, begun making use of Japanese instructors to train their Army on modern lines, and it so happened that in a local clash between the Conservatives and the Liberals one of these Japanese instructors was killed and the Japanese Minister in Seoul had to flee for his life to Chemulpo. The Japanese Government, which was now aware of its growing strength, acted with vigour, and dispatched troops and battleships to Korea to demand immediate satisfaction. This was the first time that the Japanese had acted arbitrarily with a foreign Power, and it was no doubt the success which attended this first attempt at armed diplomacy which led them to make use of this form of argument for ever after.

The Koreans were at first in no conciliatory mood, and it looked as if the Japanese would soon find themselves in a war on the Asiatic continent. The tension was, however, eased in an unexpected fashion by the kidnapping of the head of the Conservative Party in Seoul by Admiral Ting Juchang, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese North Sea Squadron, who happened to be in Chemulpo with three ships. Why Admiral Ting did this has never been clearly explained, as it was not to the interest of China to see Japan dominant in Korea. However, with the aid of Yuan Shikai, the "father of Korea" was quietly shipped to Tientsin and never heard of again. Once leaderless, the Korean Government made no further demur about agreeing to all the Japanese claims.

While these negotiations were going on the Japanese Navy wasted no time and made a careful survey of all the rivers and harbours on this part of the Korean coast. They were apparently not in possession of reliable charts, and on one occasion, arriving at the entrance of Nanyo Bay, found it impossible to enter and anchor owing to their ignorance of the shoals. Togo, however, resourcefully evolved a solution to the problem, for seeing some Chinese warships lying inside the bay he suggested to his commander that these would sooner or later come out, when it would be perfectly simple to watch the course they took and take the same one. This stratagem was adopted, and the Japanese vessels were able to survey the bay at their leisure. This incident illustrates how primitive even at this time was the Japanese knowledge of the sea.

It was during this cruise also that Togo came into direct contact with his future enemies, the Chinese. As already mentioned, three Chinese warships were at Chemulpo, and one day, paying an official call, Togo was received by Yuan Shi Kai, at that time an officer of junior rank. He apparently had a liking for politics, and being an enthusiastic talker, began to express his views on the possibilities of a closer understanding between the Chinese and the Japanese Empire. Togo remained, as usual, silent, and Yuan Shi Kai, thinking that he was making an impression on this quiet little Japanese, waxed more and more eloquent, until at the end of his oration he was practically laying down the terms for a Sino-Japanese alliance.

Togo remained quietly attentive until the Chinese had finished, and then rising said :

“I am sorry, I don’t understand. Good-bye.”

Yuan Shi Kai started his speech all over again; Togo, still polite, shook his head, and making a comprehensive bow left the Chinese still talking.

But Togo had understood every word which Yuan Shi Kai had said, and made careful record of all he had heard for future use.

There was another amusing incident about the same time which is illustrative of Togo's character. By some mistake Togo fired the wrong number of salutes for the commander of a foreign squadron as it entered the harbour. A remonstrance was made and an explanation demanded, and he was told to fire the salute again. Togo apologized and agreed to make amends, but instead of firing again the full salute he fired only the difference between the regulation number and the number which he had before fired. On receiving a further protest he pointed out that the two salutes added together made up what was due to the flag officer in question and categorically refused to do anything further about the matter. Even after the case was taken up officially with the Imperial Japanese Navy Department he stuck to his point, preferring to accept a reprimand rather than change his mind.

This small incident does not seem, however, to have affected his career, as in March 1883 he was given command of the *Teihu*, a wooden ship of 1200 tons, built in London.

The following year he was posted to the *Amagi*, belonging to what was known as the Middle Squadron, which had been ordered to proceed to the neighbourhood of Shanghai with a view to protecting the Japanese residents during hostilities which seemed likely to break out between France and China over the question of Annam. In addition to the French squadron, America, Germany, and Great Britain also had ships watching developments, and it was the first occasion, therefore, that a Japanese naval force found itself acting in concert, and on an equal footing, with a foreign Navy. The Japanese took this opportunity to have a good look at

China, and the *Amagi* was sent up the Yangtse as far as Hankow.

When Togo returned to Shanghai he found that negotiations between the French and Chinese had been broken off and war had started in Annam. The *Amagi* accordingly proceeded at once to Indo-China, where the French squadron gave a gratuitous demonstration to the Japanese on how to conduct modern warfare. Togo was naturally very interested in all he saw, and commented daily to his officers on the lessons learned by each successive operation.

As soon as the French had dealt with the Chinese in Annam they moved to Formosa, and were closely followed by the Japanese. Here again Togo paid the closest attention to the French admiral's methods of attack and the effect of the bombardments by his battleships, and when operations began on land obtained permission to follow them with a few members of his staff. He wrote detailed criticisms of all he saw and sent reports to the commander of his squadron. All that he set down was exceedingly to the point and showed that he had an intelligent grasp of modern strategy and tactics far in advance of that of the average officer in the Japanese Navy.

All this experience was of tremendous value to the future Commander-in-chief of the Japanese Navy and to the members of the Japanese General Staff, for what must be borne in mind is that there were no instructors in Japan who could teach the junior officers anything based on their own experience. The Japanese Navy had no background whatsoever. Everything it did was in the nature of an experiment, and although there was plenty of opportunity to study European naval history, this could not replace the lack of training not only in actual warfare but also in navigation and in interior organization. Togo must have had some strange instinct

for all that had to do with the sea, for during the whole of his career as a naval officer there are no examples of grave blunders which might have been expected from one who had nothing but his judgment to work on.

Togo's reports on the French operations against China were evidently appreciated by the General Staff in Tokyo, for in 1885 he was promoted to the rank of commander and appointed to the Naval Construction Bureau, where he superintended the building of Japan's new battleships.

In 1888 he became a captain, and after serving on various ships found himself posted as Chief of the Ordnance Department at the naval dockyard at Yokosuka.

CHAPTER VI

AN INDEPENDENT COMMAND

IN all men's lives there comes a period when depression sets in and the mind begins to wonder about the why and the wherefore of life. This condition of introspective reasoning may be caused by a pessimistic strain in the individual's nature, by material reverses, or by illness. Some men sink beneath the waves of gloom, never to appear again ; others allow it to influence their lives ; while a few struggle through the period of ill fortune and emerge stronger and better fitted to fight on through life.

To Togo came such a period of depression at the end of the 1880's, which was chiefly caused by bad health. He suffered from acute rheumatism and other kindred disorders, which necessitated his frequently going to hot springs in order to undergo cures. In fact, so ill was he that he could take little part in the activities which his profession demanded, and it looked at one time as if he might become an invalid.

He was, nevertheless, determined not to give in, and devoted his enforced leisure to the study of international law and diplomacy. Diplomacy especially interested him, so much so that he regarded it as one of the subjects essential to the education of young naval officers. He is, in fact, reported to have said that after a knowledge of seamanship and gunnery, what the captain of a warship or the commander of a fleet required to know the most

about was diplomacy. Lecturing once to a class of staff-officers he said :

A ship's commander is not infrequently placed in such a position that he must make important decisions unconnected with tactics or strategy. If, therefore, he has allowed his mind to concentrate only on naval problems, he will be apt to commit some gross error when he suddenly comes face to face with a delicate diplomatic situation, and his action will be detrimental to his country. I do not, of course, suggest that you should neglect your study of matters appertaining to your profession, but to diplomacy also you must give a great deal of attention. The man untrained in these questions will often be deceived by apparently insignificant details behind which lie motives which may lead to serious consequences. The naval officer who can detect such things will be of the utmost value to his country.

As will be seen later, Togo was called upon on several occasions to deal with delicate international situations, and although his own ideas of diplomacy were not quite those of Whitehall or the Quai d'Orsay, his judgment of a situation does not seem to have been much at fault.

Towards the beginning of the year of 1890, Togo's health began to improve, and by May he had so far recovered as to be able to take up the duties of Chief of Staff of Vice-Admiral Viscount Nakamuda, commander-in-chief of the naval base at Kure. It was while Togo held this appointment that an official visit was paid to Japan by the Chinese North Sea Squadron under the command of Admiral Ting Juchang.

The Chinese had during the course of the preceding years begun building new battleships, some of which—notably the *Ting Yuan* and *Chen Yuan*, vessels of 7500 tons armed with 30.5-centimetre guns—were outwardly superior to anything in the Japanese Navy. A number of cordial receptions were given to Japanese officials and Press men on board the Chinese flagship during her stay

in Japan, but there was an underlying feeling that this hospitality was being offered in a spirit of "show off", a kind of warning that the Chinese were now a people who also had Western weapons, and must be reckoned with in case of war. Many of the Japanese were impressed by what they had seen, a few were apprehensive. Togo alone made no comment. A little later on, when the matter was brought up for official discussion, Togo admitted that at first the size of the Chinese battleships had given him cause for reflection, but that after visiting them and talking to the officers he could assure the General Staff that Japan had nothing to fear from the Chinese Navy. He further admitted that he had done a bit of spying on his own, and had actually been on board the Chinese flagship in kimono so that he could walk all over the vessel without anyone realizing that he was a naval officer.

How exact was Togo's verdict about the Chinese Navy was proved three years later when war broke out between China and Japan. It nevertheless showed remarkable acumen for a young captain to make a statement of this kind with such assurance that no one felt any further anxiety about the menace of the Chinese on sea.

The fact of the matter was (and Togo knew this) that the Chinese still relied on the frightening element of old-time warfare when hideous masks and noisy fire-crackers spread consternation among their enemies. Their new ships were big, so were their guns, but the officers and men were untrained, the engines worked sometimes, but more often did not, while the crews were dissatisfied with their pay, which they received only occasionally. Funds for the Navy in China there were plenty, but the Empress Dowager had spent most of what had been allotted to the Fleet to build her Summer Palace, while anything left over went into the pockets of Government officials.

The Japanese Navy, on the other hand, was seaworthy and efficient. Every man, from the last joined cabin-boy to the Admiral, knew his duties, and what vessels lacked in size and armaments was made up for by smoothly running engines and guns ready to be fired by expert gun-layers.

For the moment, however, an atmosphere of peace hung over the Far East. Togo had become the father of two sons and one daughter and was now commander of one of the newer battleships, the *Naniwa*, which had been built in England. He spent the whole of 1892 cruising about the Loochoo Islands, where he corrected and amplified the charts and later did the same thing for the lesser-frequented islands of Northern Japan.

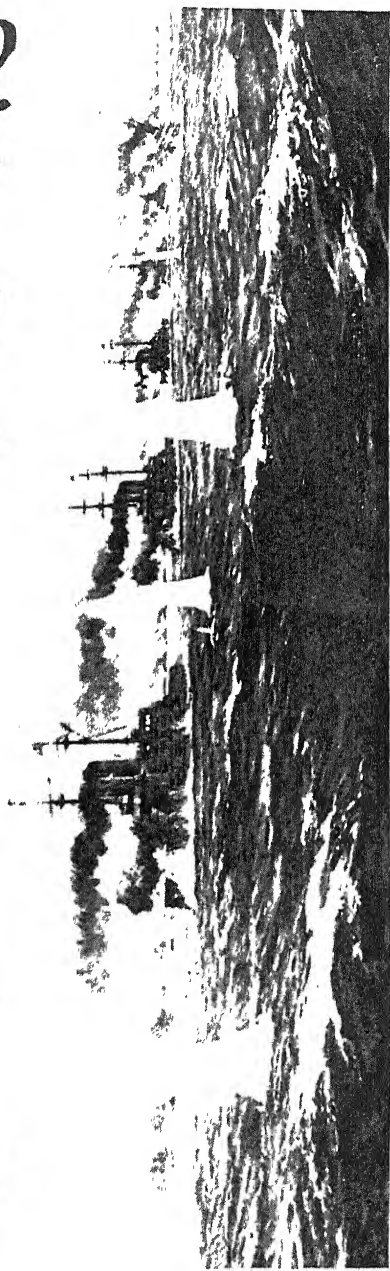
At the beginning of 1893, however, he was suddenly called upon to act independently on behalf of his country in a very delicate situation.

Trouble had broken out in Hawaii owing to the deposing of the famous autocratic Queen Liliuokalani by a Provisional Republican Government set up by the citizens of the United States who resided in the Hawaiian Islands. This Government, however, had not been officially recognized by the President of the United States, so that it looked as if the situation would lead to serious trouble, and, as there were over 20,000 Japanese living in these islands, it was thought fit to send a battleship to protect them.

When Togo arrived at Honolulu on board the *Naniwa* he found the Japanese training-ship *Kongo* already there, as well as three American battleships and a British cruiser.

As soon as Togo had ascertained from the Japanese Consular authorities what the actual situation was he called his officers together and pointed out that this was the first occasion on which the Japanese Navy had been under direct observation of foreign Powers. It was, of

皇國
興廢
在此
一戰
各員
奮勵
努力
建金



A PAINTING OF THE BATTLE OF THE SEA OF JAPAN WITH TOGO'S CALIGRAPHY : "THE DESTINY OF THE EMPIRE
DEPENDS ON THIS ACTION. LET EACH MAN DO HIS BEST"

course, important that Japanese interests should be safeguarded at all cost, but all action must be so tempered that, while defending the rights of Japan, the reputation of Japanese seamen must remain unsullied. If, however, it became necessary for the Japanese to intervene in these local disputes the old spirit of the Samurai was to be remembered before all.

As it turned out, an incident did occur soon after the arrival of the *Naniwa* which might have led to serious consequences, and brought out more clearly than ever before the stubbornness of Togo's character.

A young Japanese criminal had escaped from his guards on his way to prison, and, jumping into the sea, swam out to the gangway of the *Naniwa*, begging for sanctuary. Togo had the man brought on board and, after hearing his story, permitted him to remain and refused to deliver him up when the police of Hawaii came to claim their prisoner. The Provisional Government, upon hearing this, accordingly sent an officer to make a remonstrance and demand the surrender of the Japanese criminal; but Togo remained obdurate and refused categorically to give up his countryman. Further deputations were sent to the *Naniwa*, but all to no avail, until the authorities in Honolulu became exceedingly angry, and, the Press taking the matter up, it looked as if this incident might develop into an international quarrel. Togo, however, remained quite unmoved about the fuss around him and continued to keep the fugitive.

Even when the Vice-President of the Provisional Government came on board the Japanese warship and apologized for the articles in the Press, adding that if Togo would now hand the criminal over to justice the matter would be forgotten, his attitude did not change. In fact, he became so obstinate about the whole business that when his own Consul asked him to write a report in English on the incident to the Hawaiian

Government, he refused, and some days later drew up a statement in Japanese which he sent on shore, but which, of course, no one could understand.

Finally, the Home Government, having been notified of what had occurred, issued instructions directly to Togo to deliver the prisoner. But even then he would not comply with the request of the Hawaiian Government to be allowed to come and fetch the Japanese, but made the man over to the staff of his own Consulate, telling them that he was in no way responsible for giving up one of his countrymen to foreign authorities.

It was curious behaviour for one in Togo's position, and would have undoubtedly done much harm to the career of a man of different calibre. The Japanese Government, however, realized that he was not one who could be coerced. He would obey direct orders, but even in the case of orders he was apt to demur if he thought that his judgment was better than that of those issuing them. He believed entirely in himself, and having no real ambitions to become a man of note or position preferred to do what he thought right rather than to obtain favour by falling in with the views of others.

It was in Hawaii that Togo's complex about firing salutes again came out.

The President of the Provisional Government, Sandford B. Dole, one day made a tour of the harbour where the battleships lay at anchor. As the Presidential launch passed, all the vessels, with the exception of the Japanese, fired their salutes, and all that Mr. Dole saw on looking reproachfully up at the *Naniwa* was the solitary figure of Captain Togo standing on the bridge peering down at him with curiosity through his glasses.

As a matter of fact, Togo's attitude on this occasion was entirely vindicated, as in the month of April the Provisional Government was deposed and the American flag hauled down from all public buildings in Honolulu

and replaced by the Hawaiian flag. Shortly after this the *Naniwa* received orders to return to Home waters, where she joined the Main Squadron of the Home Fleet and took part in the cruise to Vladivostock and later to Hokkaido.

Before the end of the year, however, trouble broke out again in Hawaii, and Togo returned with his ship to the tropics. He continued maintaining the same attitude toward the Provisional Government, and this time had the support of the captain of H.M.S. *Champion*, which had come to Honolulu to guard British interests. The situation, however, was now more settled in the Hawaiian Islands, and in June of the following year the *Naniwa* was ordered back to Japan and went into dry-dock at Yokosuka.

This marks the end of what might be regarded as the prologue to Togo's life as a naval officer. Up to 1894 we see him showing definite signs of being a man with a future, a man of ideas, a man of strong character ; but his position had been more or less subordinate, and with the exception of those early days of civil war he had had no opportunity of showing his worth as a commander on active service. The opportunity, was, however, rapidly approaching.

Until 1894, Togo was little known outside the immediate circle of the Navy. In this circle he was esteemed, but it was realized that he was a difficult man to deal with, and one who would either rise to the top of his career or else fall by his own obstinacy.

From 1894 onwards Togo's name not only becomes familiar among the people of Japan, but is known throughout the Far East and is even heard of in Europe. His life had been, up till now, interesting, but the interests had been local. He was forty-six years of age, and during those forty-six years had seen Japan transformed from a mediæval state, ignorant of all that went

on outside her shores, into a nation which, though not yet known to the West, was showing definite signs of wanting a suitable place in the commonwealth of nations. Armour, bows and arrows, and feudal lords had given place to steel battleships, 12-inch guns, and highly trained admirals ; but no one really appreciated this except the Japanese themselves. During the course of the next ten years the rest of the world was to receive a series of staggering shocks and suddenly find itself confronted with a situation in the East which would require the ablest diplomacy to deal with it, while Togo, from being an unknown naval captain, was to be internationally recognized as one of the greatest admirals in the annals of modern naval history.

CHAPTER VII

TOGO ENCOUNTERS THE BRITISH FOR THE SECOND TIME

JAPAN'S war with China can be likened to the first big part given to an unknown actress which suddenly raises her from playing small rôles in a provincial company to a lead in the West End.

There were no preliminary parts or gradual ascent from the ranks of the chorus to starring. At the beginning of 1894 the Japanese were still looked upon by Occidentals as a funny little people who, though evidently more progressive than other Orientals, were still Orientals who ate their food with chop-sticks.

By the middle of 1895 Japan was regarded as sufficiently important to cause three great European Powers to join together in order to prevent her spreading into the Asiatic mainland, while a fourth Great Power began considering the advisability of an alliance with this new nation which showed such promise in the East.

The origin of the war with China started in Korea.

In fact, as has been previously related, Korea may be described as one of the most important influences on the history of Japan.

To-day the Chosen Peninsula is part of the Japanese Empire, but Korea's history and civilization is much older than Japan's and is closely linked with that of China.

The earliest Korean records refer to a period about

2000 B.C., and already in 1122 B.C. there is evidence of the Chinese penetrating into the Peninsula. All this ancient history is necessarily vague, but it is quite evident that Chinese influence predominated, and in the fourth century of the Christian era we find Korea as a centre of culture transmitting Buddhism and Chinese literature and ethics to Japan.

Jenghiz and Kublai Khan occupied Korea in the thirteenth century, and it is from this date that the rulers of Korea began to make official homage to the Emperors of China, who declared the country to be a vassal state and imposed on it the Chinese calendar and chronology. This state of affairs, moreover, continued until the end of the nineteenth century.

The first contacts of Korea with the West came in the middle of the nineteenth century, when French and American expeditions attacked the coasts of Korea after the massacre of foreign missionaries. It was, however, found impossible to establish diplomatic relations, and it was not until 1860 that any direct step was made to break down this isolation. As might be supposed, this step came from Russia when she obtained from China the cession of the Usuri Province, thus bringing a European Power down to the Tumen.

Japan, realizing before anyone else what Russia's ambitions were in the Far East, made the next move, and in 1876 drew up a treaty with Korea by which Fusan was opened to Japanese trade and settlement and was followed by the opening of Gensan and Chemulpo.

With Russia and Japan at either end of Korea, the Government saw that its centuries of isolation were over, and treaties were drawn up with those European Powers that demanded them.

Seoul was opened to foreign residents in 1884 and, in spite of Korea being, in China's eyes, still under her suzerainty, was treated by the Governments of Occidental

countries as an independent state. Curiously enough, the Koreans do not seem to have appreciated this, and continued regarding the Chinese as being in authority over them. It was, in fact, this attitude of mind on the part of these people which precipitated the Sino-Japanese war.

The reactionary party had reappeared in Seoul and had gradually gained such power that the established Government could no longer cope with it. The situation gradually went from bad to worse, until finally aid was asked of China.

The Chinese, who, as has been explained, still regarded the Koreans as their vassals, immediately sent three divisions to Korea, at the same time informing the Japanese Government that this assistance was being given to "our dependent State". This way of describing Korea did not at all please the Japanese, who realized that with the Chinese occupying the Chosen Peninsula their own safety might be menaced. The Government of China was therefore curtly informed that Japan did not recognize Korea as a dependency of anyone, and that Japanese troops would accordingly also be sent to Korea to preserve order.

Captain Togo was detailed to take the *Naniwa* and convoy the troops which were being shipped to Chemulpo. This was carried out without mishap, although during the transit from Japan to Korea the *Naniwa* met the two big Chinese warships *Chen Yuan* and *Ting Yuan* referred to before. Togo, being alone with his one ship, was none too sure of what action the Chinese might take, so he prepared for action, and although only salutes were fired, Admiral Lin Taitseng saw clearly the Japanese sailors manning their guns, and reported what he had seen to his Government.

In the meantime, Japanese and Chinese troops were pouring into Korea, and it was evident that it would

require very little to start a conflagration. There was no definite quarrel between China and Japan which could be made an excuse for war, but there was an ever-conflicting outlook in the two countries which can be summed up in two words—progress and reaction.

Japan, beginning to feel the full benefits of the reforms instituted at home, saw clearly the backwardness of Korea, the corruptness of her officials, and, incidentally, what could be done with the country if it were properly organized.

China, on the other hand, living on the old principles of "what was good enough for my ancestors is good enough for me", could see no point in interfering with the state of things which had gone on for centuries, provided, of course, Chinese sovereignty was not challenged. She moreover thought that this might be a good opportunity to have a slap at Japan at a time when she believed her Navy to be superior to the Japanese.

The Japanese evidently had very much the same ideas about trying conclusions with the Chinese, for while the Chinese forces grew rapidly in number in the vicinity of Asan, the Japanese Army was likewise being daily reinforced at Seoul.

At the same time the Chinese Fleet had mobilized and was concentrating at Wei Hai Wei, while the Japanese, not to be outdone, had concentrated their ships at Saseho in Kyushu.

On paper, the Chinese Fleet was much stronger than the Japanese both in global tonnage and the number of ships (84,000 tons, with 63 warships and 24 torpedo craft against 59,000 tons with 28 warships and 24 torpedo craft), and although the Chinese had mobilized only twenty-five of her battleships, her tonnage was still higher than that of all the available Japanese squadrons, and she had a big reserve to fall back on.

However, as has already been pointed out, the

Chinese Navy, in spite of its fine outward appearance, was not in a fit state to fight. No one realized this, however, except the Japanese, who had already developed a remarkable Intelligence Service. It is possible that the personnel of the Chinese Navy felt that their ships might leave a little to be desired, but being filled with that supreme conceit which has caused them so many disillusionings, they despised all other races and would never admit that defeat could come to the Dragon Flag.

By July of 1894 it was quite evident to the Japanese that the Korean problem could only be settled by direct action, and a Battle Squadron was formed under Vice-Admiral Yuko Ito, consisting of sixteen battleships and six destroyers. The Squadron was divided into a Main Squadron and two Flying Squadrons. The *Naniwa*, with Captain Togo in command, found herself in the First Flying Squadron.

As the newly formed fleet steamed slowly out of Secho harbour, a signal was run up to the masthead of the yacht of the Chief of the Naval General Staff, who had come to see the Squadron off :

“Raise the fame of the Imperial Navy.”

Togo, standing on the bridge of the *Naniwa*, studied the Chief of Staff's signal through his glasses, then, turning to the officers who stood about him, said :

“There is no necessity for me to explain that signal. All that I ask is that you bear it in mind.”

Neither was it necessary to explain what had been meant to the rest of the Japanese Fleet. It was now quite clear what their mission was.

Things came to a crisis very rapidly. On the morning of July 25 the *Naniwa* found herself with two other battleships in the neighbourhood of Asan with two Chinese warships on the horizon steaming towards them. War had not actually been declared, but Togo

immediately gave orders to clear for action and await developments. The developments came when at a range of 3000 metres the Chinese ships opened fire, which was immediately returned by the Japanese. The action was short and decisive. Hardly any of the Chinese shots hit the Japanese vessels, whereas the Japanese gunnery was deadly and accurate, so that in a comparatively short space of time both Chinese vessels broke off the engagement and fled. One of the ships was practically sinking and just managed to beach herself when her crew blew her up. The other made off in the direction of Wei Hai Wei, pursued by the *Naniwa*. She had, however, a good start, and Togo was just wondering whether it was wise to allow himself to be drawn away from his own fleet into enemy waters when something very unexpected caught his eye.

Coming from the west was a Chinese gunboat escorting what appeared to be a British merchantman. Togo felt exceedingly puzzled. He studied the ship carefully through his glasses and ascertained that her name was the *Koushing*, and that she was undoubtedly flying the Red Ensign. But why a vessel sailing under the British flag was in the company of a Chinese warship which was quite clearly her escort did not seem clear. However, before Togo could come to any conclusions the Chinese vessel turned away to the west, and before very long was receiving the concentrated fire of a Japanese ship which had just come up, and very soon sent the Chinese ship to the bottom. The *Koushing*, in the meantime, had continued on her course, evidently making for Chemulpo. Togo felt definitely suspicious, and after a few minutes' reflection ordered the British ship to heave to, which she immediately did. A boat was lowered from the *Naniwa* and an officer sent on board the merchantman to make a few inquiries.

When the officer returned he reported to his captain that the *Koushing* was definitely a British ship belonging to the firm of Jardine Matheson, and was under the command of a Captain Golsworthy. The vessel, it appeared, had been chartered by the Chinese Government to transport troops and guns from Taku to Asan, and there were, in fact, 1100 Chinese soldiers and fourteen field-guns on board. Togo made no comment on receiving this information, but signalled to the *Koushing* to follow him. The captain of the *Koushing*, however, signalled back that he could not comply before speaking again with a Japanese officer. The same officer accordingly returned to the British ship, and discovered that the Chinese had forcibly taken possession of the vessel and were preventing Captain Golsworthy and his officers from complying with the order of the Japanese battleship. Moreover, as if to emphasize their determination not to surrender, the Chinese opened fire with their field-guns from the decks of the *Koushing*, dropping shells harmlessly into the sea many hundreds of yards short of the *Naniwa*.

Togo immediately replied to this piece of insolence with a couple of well-directed shots which penetrated the coal-bunkers of the *Koushing*, and at the same time signalled to the British officers to leave their ship and come on board the *Naniwa*. The Chinese, however, had now taken entire charge of the transport, and, after killing the chief engineer and the second officer, had told the other Englishmen that if they did not immediately weigh anchor and make for Chemulpo they would suffer the same fate. Captain Golsworthy could do nothing therefore but signal this information.

Togo read the message through his glasses and for a moment did nothing. He felt baffled. It would be no good sending boats to fetch the Englishmen off, as with their rifles the Chinese could shoot the crews before they could hope to reach the *Koushing*. It would also be

out of the question to give in to an unarmed transport filled with Chinese troops, although it happened to be sailing under a neutral flag.

He began, therefore, by trying a bit of bluff, and, running up the battle flag at his masthead, cleared for action, hoping that the Chinese would realize the hopelessness of their position and reconsider their decision. But the Chinese were not in the least impressed ; on the contrary they continued threatening the British captain with instant death if he did not comply with their wishes.

Over two hours had now elapsed since the meeting of the *Naniwa* and the *Koushing*. Togo was still undecided, and paced anxiously up and down his bridge, while his officers and men stood under the blazing midday sun wondering why their captain walked so restlessly. Then suddenly the pacing stopped and the order was given which was going to turn the eyes of the world on to Japan.

The *Naniwa* opened fire. The surviving British officers jumped into the sea, and the Chinese troops, after letting off a few futile volleys from their field-guns, began launching the boats. At 1-15 p.m. the *Koushing* began to sink, whereupon Togo immediately ordered the *Cease fire*, and lowered his own boats to save the men who struggled in the water. There is no record as to how many Chinese were rescued, but all surviving foreigners were saved and taken on board the *Naniwa*.

By a curious coincidence Captain Golsworthy was an old *Worcester* boy, a little junior to Togo, but still, one who had seen him : but with that British horror of being sentimental he never disclosed this fact to his captor. Years afterwards, when Togo was an admiral, he discovered the identity of the captain of the *Koushing* ; but it was fated that they should never meet again. However, for the moment everything was very cordial.

Captain Togo apologized to Captain Golsworthy and Captain Golsworthy apologized to Captain Togo, explaining that the Chinese, with their extraordinary conceit, believed that they could fight the *Naniwa* with their rifles and field-guns. Togo explained his point of view, and as far as these two seamen were concerned the incident was closed. But it was by no means closed as far as it concerned the British and Japanese Governments. In fact, it had only just begun.

On hearing the news the British Foreign Office at once presented a Note to the Japanese, couched in the sharpest terms, which caused consternation in Toyko. The war with China had only just begun, and here was a complication with a Western Power which might upset all plans and irretrievably damage Japan's cause. For the first time in his career Togo found himself definitely in bad odour with the authorities at home. He does not, however, appear to have been much perturbed or to have considered the effect which all this might have on his personal position. In reply to the inquiry made by the Naval General Staff as to the reason for his action, he replied briefly to the effect that he had fully considered the consequences before giving his orders to sink the *Koushing*, and that if what he had done was to involve his country in international difficulties he would have no hesitation in committing hara-kiri, and that was all.

Curiously enough, the solution of the problem came from the British side, for *The Times*, taking up the case, stated that Togo had acted within his rights. True that when the *Koushing* had been chartered to carry Chinese troops war with Japan had not been declared, but as it had been the hostile attitude of the Chinese soldiers on board the British vessel that had made it impossible for Togo to take his prize, he was left with no other alternative but to sink her. The *Koushing* was carrying troops destined to fight the Japanese, which could not

be allowed to go on their way, and as the Englishmen involved had nothing to complain of regarding the treatment accorded to them by the Japanese, no more should be said about the matter. Thus, then, did the incident simmer down ; but it is another example of the way in which Togo came to decisions without reference to superior authority, and once a decision was made carried it out regardless of consequences.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BATTLE OF THE YELLOW SEA

IN spite of these bellicose encounters at sea, China and Japan were not yet officially at war, and it was not until August 1 that a Japanese Imperial edict announced that diplomatic relations had been broken off between the two countries.

This way of doing things is, I believe, peculiar to the Orient, as diplomatic relations were not severed between Russia and Japan until several Russian ships had been attacked and sunk by the Japanese; and in spite of the fierce fighting round Shanghai in 1932, China and Japan remained all the time outwardly on the friendliest of terms.

At a dinner which I attended that year at the Tientsin Country Club to celebrate the bicentenary of George Washington, the Mayor of Tientsin and the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese troops in North China were both seated at the table of honour. I watched the two men with interest, wondering what their reactions would be, but their mutual attitudes were of the friendliest. In fact, towards the end of dinner these two officials were side by side toasting each other's countries, apparently oblivious of the fact that at that moment Japanese troops were driving Chinese out of Manchuria and shooting down others in Shanghai!

The great mistake that Occidentals make is to

try to apply their own methods in dealing with Oriental situations. No one was more surprised than the Chinese to see the stern attitude of America towards Japan when she occupied Manchuria. The Lytton Commission seemed incredible to both parties concerned, and, although the Chinese took full advantage of the presence of its delegates to air their grievances, they knew perfectly well that the Japanese would do as they pleased.

Where, however, the Japanese differed entirely from the Chinese in these international questions was in "the rules of the game". As far as the traditional method of starting a war was concerned, the Japanese conformed, but once the war was in progress they disregarded all Eastern conventions.

From time immemorial China has been rent by wars which, of late, have been internal. War lords have risen here and risen there and made a bid for power. In spite, however, of huge military displays, the outcome of the conflict was always known beforehand, the commanders of the opposing sides meeting prior to an engagement and, in proportion to their resources, deciding which side should win. A semblance of a battle would then be staged, followed by a strategic retreat by the army commander who had received the necessary remuneration. When all this had been satisfactorily carried out without loss of face, the soldiers on both sides were given an area to loot in peace.

The Japanese, on the contrary, made no arrangements beforehand as to the outcome of the fight. They went into battle determined to win and, having won, carried on hostilities to the bitter end ; there was no looting and no unnecessary hardships for civilians. So much so that after the first year of hostilities in Manchuria the Manchus acclaimed the Japanese troops as their saviours.

In 1933 the populace of that area of China just west of the Great Wall where it runs into the sea flocked into the Japanese lines to escape from the looting by its own armies. In fact, one of the main reasons for the outcry made by the Chinese authorities when the Japanese established Manchoukuo as a protectorate was this new deal for the people. In other words, with a government established on Japanese lines, the system of extortion practised by Chang Tso Lin and Chang Hsueh Liang had to disappear. A Chinese in Manchuria once said to me :

"I cannot understand these people [the Japanese]. After all, they are Orientals like ourselves, and they should realize that the common farmers have been brought up to supply the needs of the governing classes and do not appreciate this idea of 'equal rights for all'."

The above is a diversion, but necessary in order to demonstrate the gulf which separates the Chinese and Japanese ways of reasoning, and which was, in many ways, the cause of China's lamentable failure in this encounter of 1895.

This time, however, war was quite official, and while Admiral Ito scoured the Yellow Sea to find Chinese fleets Japanese troops on shore were defeating the Chinese armies in the vicinity of Asan.

The Chinese Fleet had in the meantime come out of its base in the land-locked harbour of Wei Hai Wei, but, evidently thinking better of it, had returned to its anchorage. Neither did the appearance of the Japanese Squadron off the coast of China have the hoped-for effect of tempting the Chinese to risk a battle. In fact, during the next few weeks the two navies played a huge game of hide-and-seek, the Chinese, it must be admitted, doing most of the hiding, and only popping out into the open sea for a few hours and returning to its base whenever the Japanese appeared in the offing.

Realizing, therefore, that there was little to fear from the Chinese at sea, the Japanese General Staff decided to employ the Fleet to convoy reinforcements to Korea and thus meet the challenge of Li Hung Chang, who was concentrating a huge and imposing force near the Yalu River. The conveying was safely accomplished by September 12, and on the 16th the whole of the Japanese Grand Fleet put to sea determined to find the Chinese squadrons and settle this question of mastery of the ocean once and for all. Their ambition was satisfied sooner than they expected, for at 11-30 a.m. on September 17 the signal was seen fluttering to the masthead of the flagship of the First Flying Squadron : "*Enemy Fleet in sight*".

All eyes at once swept the horizon, and to the east was seen a number of columns of smoke following one another which could only mean a great force of ships.

What had happened to place the Chinese Fleet so perilously in the path of the Japanese was this :

When the Chinese Commander-in-Chief of the land forces heard of the arrival of the Japanese reinforcements he at once warned Li Hung Chang that with the troops at his disposal he could not hope to prevent the Japanese crossing the Korean border and invading Chinese territory. Li Hung Chang, for once, took notice, and, appreciating the peril of the situation, ordered reserves to be dispatched immediately to the mouth of the Yellow River, at the same time requesting Admiral Ting Juchang to provide the escort for the transports. Ting, wishing to be on the safe side, complied with the order by coming himself from Wei Hai Wei with the whole of his squadron, reaching the point of debarkation on September 15. On the 17th he received a report that the Japanese Fleet was approaching, and, evidently believing that the landing of the Chinese troops was known (this, however, was not actually the case), weighed

anchor with all the ships under his command and set out to meet the Japanese.

Admiral Ito, on satisfying himself that he was really in the presence of the Chinese Main Fleet, hoisted the Imperial Ensign at his masthead and gave the general order for his squadrons to prepare for action.

Captain Togo, on the bridge of the *Naniwa*, gazed silently at the rapidly approaching Chinese men-of-war, and then, suddenly unable to restrain the old Samurai spirit of his younger days, mustered the ship's company on the foredeck and addressed them as follows :

"See, the enemy is approaching and the battle will soon begin. To brave and loyal men like you I need say little—remember that the bravery of a warship depends on the bravery of each individual on board, as does the bravery of a squadron depend on the bravery of each ship. Bear this in mind and do your duty, and by defeating the enemy show your gratitude for Imperial benevolence."

It might have been Achilles at the Siege of Troy, or the heroics of Miltiades at Marathon. Japanese were about to show their worth as modern seamen, but without forgetting the spirit of mediæval Japan.

The first shot was fired at 12-50 p.m. at a range of 6000 metres from the fore turret of the Chinese super-battleship *Ting Yuan*, without effect, and was followed by a general opening of fire by all the units of the Chinese Fleet. The Japanese Squadrons did not, however, reply until the range had diminished to 4000 metres, when the *Naniwa* (which led the line) fired her broadside at the *Chen Yuan*. It was now just after 1 p.m.

This is another example of how much the Japanese had learned of modern warfare. The Chinese still relied on the terrifying effect of the noise of gunpowder exploding, and fired indiscriminately whether there was a chance of hitting the target or not. But the Japanese waited until their shots would tell.

Shells were now falling all around the Japanese Squadrons, but, still drawing closer to the enemy, the *Naniwa* continued her accurate firing as if she were at gunnery practice on manœuvres, until the *Chiaoyung* caught fire and soon afterwards sank, shortly followed by the *Yang Wei*, also on fire and out of control, but which managed to beach herself before sinking. The range was now no more than 2000 metres.

The Chinese, realizing that their gunnery was no match for the Japanese—in fact, that it was practically ineffective—decided to try to settle the issue of the battle in the approved fashion of old-time warfare, and suddenly turning at right angles to the Japanese Squadrons endeavoured to run them down. But their speed was not equal to this manœuvre, and the Japanese ships, maintaining their line-ahead formation, poured broadside after broadside at the oncoming Chinese ships. The Chinese having failed to attack at close quarters then tried to make use of their torpedo-boats; but their torpedoes were no more effective than their guns, and the attack was easily repelled by machine-gun fire from the decks of the Japanese cruisers. The Chinese small craft showed extraordinary bravery, and there were times when the destroyers were almost alongside the Japanese battleships, with the Chinese sailors ready to scramble on board if the occasion presented itself.

The battle was now at its height, every ship being engaged; but though some of the Japanese vessels had been severely punished, none had been sunk. The Chinese, on the other hand, were in a pitiable state. The Chinese flagship had lost her masts and was no longer able to signal, so that the ships of the rest of the Fleet had to fight on as independent units. Not that this made much difference, for during the whole of this engagement it was clearly shown that, while the Japanese had at least the right principles of naval



ADMIRAL TOGO ON HIS WAY TO THE EMPEROR'S SUMMER PALACE
TO DISCUSS THE REPLIES TO THE LONDON TREATY OF 1930

tactics, the Chinese had not. The Chinese warships fired at any target which presented itself, whether or not it was within range. Some ships tried to ram the enemy, others actually left the line for a while and then came back, but there was no concerted action. Contrarily with the Japanese. The Commander-in-Chief never lost control of his Fleet, the Commander of his Squadrons keeping him informed of what was happening to them, while individual ships acted only on the orders of their respective flagships.

Before the battle had been in progress for two hours its issue was settled. In addition to the casualties among the Chinese ships already mentioned, the flagship was on fire, as were also the *Lai Yuan* and the *Ping Yuan*. The two latter vessels almost immediately left the line out of control and were successively followed by the *Chi Yuan*, the *Kuang Ping*, the *Kuang Chia*, and the *Ching Yuan*. Admiral Ito therefore ordered his squadrons to divide, and while one group remained to deal with the flagship and the *Chen Yuan*, which still fought on, the other pursued the ships which were trying to make for the coast of China.

The fight of the two great Chinese battleships is a story of great heroism, and it is difficult to understand how they were able to hold the Japanese at bay for so long. Admiral Ting had been wounded, but he remained on his bridge directing the firing of those guns which had not been put out of action, while on the *Chen Yuan* Admiral Lin did his best to protect the flagship with his less-damaged vessel. In fact, as is always the case with the Chinese when they are cornered, they fought with courage and determination.

People who are ignorant of Chinese characteristics often suggest that the Chinese are in reality good soldiers, and cite as an example the heroic stand of the 19th Route Army at Shanghai in 1932.

The reason, however, why this army fought so fiercely against the Japanese was that it could do nothing else.

The 19th Route Army had become too strong to suit the taste of Chiang Kai Shek, so he launched it against the Japanese and then deserted it. The Army Commander, realizing this, saw that he was, so to speak, up against it, and accordingly fought desperately.

A staff officer of the Japanese Army in Manchoukuo told me that the great difficulty which the Japanese troops had to contend with in the rounding up of bandits which roamed the plains of Manchuria in 1933 was that they would never stand and fight. They carried on a kind of guerilla warfare on a large scale, but always fled when they found themselves opposed by an organized force.

In this naval battle the circumstances which make the Chinese into good fighters were there, and the two great ships defended themselves with such ferocity that they made it impossible for the Japanese flagships to close in and sink them. Moreover, they fired with greater deliberation and accuracy than before, so that the Japanese men-of-war began to show signs of wear, and two of the 12-inch shells from the *Chen Yuan*, striking the flagship *Matsushima*, killed and wounded over a hundred officers and men and put most of the guns and all the controls out of action. In fact, so badly was the *Matsushima* damaged that she had to retire from the action, Admiral Ito signalling to his squadron to fight on independently and pursue the enemy.

How this encounter between the two Chinese giants and the Japanese dwarfs would have ended had it begun earlier in the day it is impossible to say. Evening was drawing on, and with the coming of night it was feared that it would be impossible to distinguish the enemy from friendly ships, so fire was gradually slackened until it finally ceased.

Admiral Ito, having transferred his flag to the *Hashidate*, ordered the squadron to follow a course which he thought would enable it to resume the battle next morning. (When last seen the *Ting Yuan* and the *Chen Yuan* were steering in the direction of Wei Hai Wei.) When, however, dawn broke on the morning of September 18 there was not a trace of the enemy to be seen, so after searching the sea for some hours the Japanese reluctantly turned their backs on the enemy base and returned to their headquarters at the mouth of the Taidong River.

During the course of this action the Chinese had lost five vessels, which had been sunk, while all the others had been so crippled that it was only the darkness which enabled them to struggle back to Wei Hai Wei, where many of them were found to be in too damaged a condition to be repaired. Four of the Japanese ships showed signs of having received severe punishment, but with the exception of the *Matsushima*, not one had been put out of action. Captain Togo's *Naniwa* had been hit eleven times, but not a man on board had been killed.

In spite of losing touch with the enemy, the Japanese Admiral and his staff were satisfied. They knew now what the outcome of the war with China would be.

Togo had shown his usual imperturbable calm during the whole of the battle. His report on the part taken by the *Naniwa* during the fighting of September 17 is in extraordinary contrast to the Samurai heroics of his exhortation to his men at the opening of the battle. I have thought it sufficiently interesting, therefore, to quote it in extenso.

Report to the Rear-Admiral commanding the First Flying Squadron.

On the 16th September, at 5-5 p.m., we left Mong-keum-pho in company with the Main and First Flying Squadrons and the *Akagi* and the *Saikyo Maru*, and made for the island of Haiyang.

At 11 a.m. on the following morning we saw far away on the starboard bow a column of smoke rising, and received at the same time a long-distance signal from the flagship *Yoshino* that more than three enemy vessels were visible. Five minutes later, ten vessels of the enemy Fleet hove in sight. Our formation at the time was a single line-ahead, with the First Flying Squadron leading the line. At 12-11 the fighting flag was hoisted. The enemy's formation appeared to be spread-wing single line-abreast or rear-wing single echelon. At 12-46 the enemy first opened fire, to which we did not at first reply. At 1-8 an enemy shell fell near our starboard beam, and as it pierced the waterline directly beneath the first battery, the splash so caused flooded our deck. Then, following the flagship *Yoshino*, we veered to starboard and attacked the *Lai-Yuan*, the *Yang-Wei*, and the *Chiaoyung* on the enemy's right wing (at a range of 2500 yards). One of these vessels caught fire. The Main Squadron had already surrounded the enemy's right wing and was attacking it. At 1-35, following the *Yoshino*, we changed our course sixteen points to port and turning again to port came behind the Main Squadron. At this time we noticed that the *Hiei* and the *Akagi* were isolated. At 2-15 the *Hiei* signalled that she was on fire, and our Flying Squadron, turning to port, went to her aid. At 2-30, just as our vessel turned to port, the *Saikyo Maru* signalled that her rudder was out of gear, and tried at the same time to pass across our bows. We slowed down and waited until she had passed and then followed our flagship; but the distance between us and the last vessel of our squadron was so great that we were almost isolated. We prepared to catch it up by steaming at full speed, but at this time the enemy vessels *Ting Yuan*, *Chen Yuan*, and *Ching Yuan* gradually approached us and turned all their guns upon us (at a distance of 2000 yards). While we were defending ourselves we saw an enemy torpedo-boat coming towards us, and fired at it with machine-guns. At 3-12 we came up to the vessel before us in the squadron and saw at the same time that the *Hiei* had already left and was sailing southward, and the *Akagi* was far away on the south-east. At 3-20 our Flying Squadron, by turning to port, had the enemy Fleet between it and the Main Squadron, and exposed it to a severe attack from both sides. The enemy Fleet became disordered and its units began to take to flight. At 3-31 the stern of the *Chi Yuan* listed heavily and four minutes later the vessel sank. The *Ting Yuan* had a fire on board and ran south-eastward with the *Chen Yuan*; the *Ching Yuan*, the *Lai Yuan*, the *Chang Yuan* and the *Kuang Chia* were seen to flee in

a north-westerly direction, and the *Ping Yuan*, *Kuang Ping* and the torpedo-boats to hurry to the east of Lungtao.

Thereupon our Flying Squadron pursued the enemy, which had fled to the north-west, while the Main Squadron was after the *Ting Yuan* and the *Chen Yuan*. A short time after this the *Ching Yuan* and *Lai Yuan* changed their course and went eastward with the *Kuang Ping* and the *Ping Yuan*. The *Ching Yuan* was already far to the west of Haiyang Island. Accordingly, the attention of our Flying Squadron was now turned solely upon the *Ping Yuan*, which soon after caught fire and ceased firing. The hull gradually listed to port and sank at 5-39. In obedience to a signal from the flagship *Matsushima*, we joined the Main Squadron at 6-30.

There is not a line of heroics. Just the unemotional statement of facts which might have been drawn up by a British naval officer, and is just as dull. It is, perhaps, better therefore that Togo did not commit himself to autobiography. His poetry is much more picturesque than his accounts of naval battles.

CHAPTER IX

PRELIMINARIES TO THE TAKING OF WEI HAI WEI

THE victory of the Japanese at the Battle of the Yellow Sea, in addition to raising the morale of the Army and the Navy and the people at home, had the effect of giving Japan the command of the sea. With the Chinese crippled and bottled up in its base, the General Staff in Tokyo could make its own plans for the invasion of China without giving much consideration to the counter-plans of the Chinese. In fact, it was decided to land the main Japanese army at the head of the Gulf of Pechili and attack the enemy on his own territory. As, however, the winter was approaching, it was agreed to defer the actual execution of this project until spring.

In the meantime, Captain Togo had been sent with the *Naniwa* to make a general reconnaissance of the coast of China. Accompanied by a cruiser, he sailed first of all to Wei Hai Wei and to Chefoo, and found that the enemy Fleet was lying safely inside the harbour and showed no signs of being drawn out to fight again. Togo therefore cruised slowly back towards Port Arthur and Talienwan, but in neither case did he see a shadow of a Chinese warship. It looked almost as if the war at sea was over.

Li Hung Chang, however, had been by no means discouraged by these reverses at sea, and severely censured Admiral Ting for his inactivity. But the Admiral

refused to accept the censure and pointed out that if he had been defeated it was owing to the apathy of the Imperial Government in Peking towards matters connected with the Navy which had sent him out to battle with a force inferior in every way to the Japanese. This was, of course, hardly true, as in numbers the Chinese had exceeded the Japanese, and if the Admiral admitted that his ships were in a bad state it was to save his face, which is of such importance to Chinese of all ranks.

While Li Hung Chang was bickering with his admiral, the Japanese Army under General Oyama was moving up towards Port Arthur, while further reinforcements had been landed on the Liao Yang Peninsula. Thus by the middle of October all was ready for the assault of this stronghold, which was the key to the whole of North China. On October 22 a combined attack on Port Arthur by the Fleet and the Army was begun. The Chinese defence lasted for exactly twenty-four hours, and on the evening of October 23 the flag of the Rising Sun flew for the first time above the fortress.

From the *Naniwa*, Togo had taken part in the bombardment of the Chinese defences, but little did he imagine that ten years later he would spend months and months as Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Fleet outside this same fortress waiting to exterminate the Russians who defended it.

However, for the moment Japan was now not only mistress of the Chinese seas but had free access to China itself. It seemed as if the war was at an end. But although the Japanese Government looked towards Peking for signs of weakening on the part of Li Hung Chang, he remained obstinate and showed no signs of asking for terms. Hostilities accordingly went on.

As fighting is difficult in North China in the midst of winter, it was decided that the next step in the plan of operations must be the total destruction of the Chinese

Fleet. As, however, Admiral Ting remained hidden away in Wei Hai Wei, it was evident that this problem might be difficult to solve. In fact, Admiral Ito and his staff came to the conclusion that it would be necessary to attack the Chinese in their lair.

It was accordingly decided to make the attempt by a combined onslaught from land and from sea, and orders were given to troops to proceed to this part of China.

Wei Hai Wei has a fine natural harbour, with its entrance protected from the ocean by an island, so that the only means of sailing into the actual port is through these comparatively narrow channels on either side of the island. At the time of the proposed Japanese attack, there were four forts on the island itself and ten on the mainland, while the entrances to the harbour were closed with booms and strewn with mines.

Preparations for the attack had therefore to be carefully made, but on January 20, protected by the Fleet, the landing of troops was commenced and was carried out without mishap. It was now merely a question of time before Wei Hai Wei fell into Japanese hands.

Before commencing operations Admiral Ito determined to make an appeal to Admiral Ting to surrender. He had been an intimate friend of this Chinese naval officer before the war, and confessed to General Oyama that he felt sorry for his adversary and would like to give him a chance to make an honourable capitulation and thus save a great loss of life. He was further actuated in these humane thoughts on hearing that Admiral Ting's right-hand man, Admiral Lin Taiteng, had committed suicide after running the *Chen Yuan* aground outside Wei Hai Wei. Admiral Ting, it was reported, had fainted on hearing the news, and even Admiral Ito was overcome with grief and commented sentimentally on the misfortunes of the war to his staff,

pointing out that suicide was the only manner of solving problems which involved a man's honour. He then settled down to write a letter to General Ting which I shall quote as an example of the extraordinary difference which exists between mentalities of Orientals and Occidentals. This incredible document is much more flowery and elaborate in Japanese, but its full sense has nevertheless been kept in the English translation.

Letter from Vice-Admiral Yuko Ito, Commander-in-Chief to the Japanese Combined Squadron outside Wei Hai Wei, to Admiral Ting Juchang, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Northern Squadrons.

I have the honour to address you, Admiral Ting. Unfortunate circumstances have made us enemies, but wars in this world are wars between nations, and not hostilities between individuals, so my friendship for you remains unchanged and is as warm as it was in the old days. I beg that you will not consider this letter an attempt to persuade you to surrender, but that you will take it as having been written from my deep anxiety on your account. Though in working for one's country and oneself there are plans which are satisfactory to both parties, those in power are apt to go astray and miss things which are before their eyes; and I, who am but an outsider, cannot remain silent, and that is why I wish to make statements and beg you to give them your careful consideration.

There are, no doubt, various reasons for the successive defeats of your Army and Navy; but there is one primary cause, which no one who considers the matter impartially will find difficult to perceive, and which cannot have escaped the notice of a man of your clear-sightedness.

The present condition of your country is not due to the fault of a few persons in power, but is really the result of the system of government. You select a man for a post solely on account of his literary attainments, which is a custom dating from

thousands of years ago. Those who wield political power are all men of high literary accomplishments, and though I do not say that this system is absolutely bad, and was probably good as long as your country remained in isolation, it is now obsolete. Moreover, in the present condition of the world it is no longer possible for a nation to live in isolation.

You are well aware in what a painful position the Japanese Empire was placed thirty years ago, and how we managed to escape from the difficulties which beset us by throwing away the old system and adopting the new. Your country also must adopt this new way of living. If your country does this, all will be well, but if it rejects it, it cannot but disappear sooner or later. This is the logical fate that awaits you. Though the peril in which China is placed has become clear during the present war, this fate has hung over you for a long time.

One who wishes to serve his country with loyalty and sincerity cannot allow himself to be swept away by the great tide which threatens to overwhelm his country. It would be better to reform the oldest empire in the world, which possesses a brilliant history and an enormous territory, and make its foundation strong for ever. When the fate is against one and the time is unfavourable, a complete surrender by making over a fleet to the enemy is in truth a very slight event compared with the rise and fall of a nation. I beg you, therefore, to come to my country and there await the arrival of the time when your country will require your services for its reformation. Listen to the advice of a sincere friend who speaks to you with that sense of honour which the world has associated with the bushi of Japan.

I need hardly say that in the past history of your country there are many instances of men who set aside trivial matters and patiently accepted minor disgrace and finally rendered distinguished services. Marshal Macmahon, of France, for instance, surrendered to the enemy and remained in the latter's country ; and when the time came, he returned to France and assisted in the reform of her government. So far from being put

to shame by his countrymen for his surrender, he was elected their President. Such was also the case with Osman Pasha, of Turkey, who surrendered at Plevna and was taken prisoner; but when he returned to his country he was appointed War Minister, and was enabled, without any hindrance, to reform the military system of his country. If you will come to Japan, I will guarantee to you the magnanimity of His Majesty, our Emperor. His Majesty not only forgave those of his subjects who raised the flag of rebellion in the Restoration War, but in many instances, such as those of Vice-Admiral Enomoto and Privy Councillor Otori, appointed them to posts of high importance. In the case of a foreigner, especially of a man of your high fame, there is not the least doubt that his treatment will be many times more generous.

In short, two courses lie before you, and you must now make your choice between them. One is to share the fate of your country, which by her stubborn adherence to the old system is fast running into great danger, and the other is to reserve your energy for future work. I beg you to give deep and careful consideration to the matter before you make your choice. It has been the custom with the warriors of your country to speak boastfully in reply to letters from the enemy leaders and to parade their strength while concealing their weakness. But I know that you are too wise to follow such precedents. This letter is written with the sincerity of true friendship, and not on the spur of the moment. I beg to assure you that if you will acquiesce to the measures proposed in this letter, I will, with your permission, make statements on the methods of carrying them into effect.

*(Signed) Yuko Ito. Vice-Admiral.
Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese
Combined Squadrons.*

Having finished this astonishing dispatch Admiral Ito sent a messenger with a flag of truce to deliver it to Admiral Ting on board his flagship. The messenger was duly received and handed over the letter, which Ting

read attentively, and far from showing any signs of annoyance at its contents he is reported to have evinced gratitude mingled with grief.

The fact of the matter was that all that Admiral Ito had said was true; but it would nevertheless have been imagined that a Chinese would have resented the references to the backwardness of his country and its comparison to Japan, which up to quite recently had been regarded as a land of uncouth barbarians.

However, the letter was taken in the proper spirit, the spirit of Oriental politeness, and after a short period of reflection in silence Admiral Ting summoned all his officers and read them what Admiral Ito had written.

When he had finished he again paused for a few moments, and then, turning to those who stood about him, said :

“Admiral Ito is a man of true courtesy. His letter is sincere and full of human compassion. Alas, I am not unaware that Wei Hai Wei cannot hold out for long, but I cannot disregard my duty to my country, and it is only by death that I can maintain my honour as its servant. If you officers have no desire to fight any longer, go and surrender to the enemy. I shall never bear you any ill will for this.”

The Chinese officers were much affected by this speech, but accepted the letter from the Japanese admiral in the same spirit as their Chief, and, while expressing gratitude to Admiral Ito for his thoughtfulness, decided unanimously to fight on to the end. A courteous reply was accordingly sent to the Japanese flagship which filled the Commander-in-Chief “with infinite sorrow”, and the attack on Wei Hai Wei was ordered to be carried out immediately.

CHAPTER X

ATTACK AND CAPTURE OF WEI HAI WEI

THE outcome of the Sino-Japanese War had been a foregone conclusion in Japan before hostilities started. After the Battle of the Yellow Sea and the capture of Port Arthur, Japan's superiority as a naval and military power left no doubt in anybody's mind as to which side would win. Nevertheless, the Chinese fought on.

It is difficult to say why they did this, for though China, with its hundreds of millions of inhabitants, could not, as a nation, be defeated, her effective fighting strength was now negligible. Defeated and routed in every encounter with the Japanese, the Army was ready to run at the slightest provocation. The personnel of the Navy, though brave, had no material left to fight with. Of the two super-battleships which had been shown off with such pride in Yokohama in 1891, the *Chen Yuan* had gone aground, while the *Ting Yuan* had been so damaged in the Battle of the Yellow Sea that it was out of the question to repair her. The remaining vessels of the squadron were all much in the same condition.

In addition to these troubles there existed a rivalry between the Army and Navy which defended Wei Hai Wei. The sailors, although incompetent, were determined to fight to the end. They had been defeated in the only battle which they had fought, many had died at their posts, and the survivors were prepared to do likewise.

The soldiers were, contrarily, not only incompetent but cowardly, and ready to flee at the fire of the first enemy shot. In fact, they belonged to the old-time Chinese Army which was kept up as a show and rarely went into action except as a matter of form, the outcome of a war or a battle having been settled privately beforehand by the respective commanders.

Admiral Ting, knowing these weaknesses of the land forces, endeavoured to have the various forts which guarded Wei Hai Wei handed over to the Navy ; but the Army, which had as yet not been under Japanese shell-fire, felt brave, and the Admiral had to resign himself to organizing his defences with the remnants of his Fleet and the two forts on the island which had always been occupied by sailors.

As soon as Admiral Ito had received the polite communication from Admiral Ting referred to in the last chapter, he issued orders to Captain Togo to reconnoitre the entrance to Wei Hai Wei harbour and, if possible, to lure the enemy out. The *Naniwa* therefore approached the harbour mouth, but without drawing any fire, and it was evident that the Chinese Fleet was firmly anchored under the protection of its forts and had no intention of being enticed into the steely arms of the Japanese squadrons. The only movement of shipping which Togo noted was that of H.M.S. *Severn*, which left Wei Hai Wei, apparently making for Chefoo.

On January 25, therefore, the debarkation of the Japanese troops was completed, and on January 30 the attack, by land, on the forts was commenced. The Chinese warships immediately moved across the harbour to support the soldiers, and for a time held up the Japanese infantry with their gun-fire. In fact, so accurate were the Chinese gunners that these operations might have ended in disaster for the Japanese had Admiral Ting been given a free hand with the defence of Wei

Hai Wei. As it was, the Chinese soldiers, astonished at the perseverance of the Japanese, who kept struggling forward in spite of heavy casualties, and, moreover, realizing that there was no prearranged plan as to which side should win, gradually became filled with panic until, flinging down their rifles, they fled in all directions. Admiral Ting, standing on the bridge of his flagship, watched with consternation what he knew was bound to happen, and with tears in his eyes murmured that the Japanese deserved to defeat such a gang of hopeless cowards. In a few moments, however, he had an opportunity of giving these dogged Japanese a taste of the Navy, for the attacking troops, elated by the departure of the enemy, ventured into the range of the Chinese machine-guns mounted on the cruisers, which created havoc in their ranks and stopped their advance for over three hours.

Admiral Ting, nevertheless, realized that the remaining forts still held by the Army could not help falling into Japanese hands, and accordingly dispatched six European engineer advisers, who were on his staff, to suggest that the forts should be dismantled and blown up. The effect, however, of seeing white men suddenly appear from the direction of the Chinese lines was too much for the Chinese soldiery, and with a last despairing cry the remnants of the Army fled. Ting was therefore obliged to send landing-parties from his ships to render the forts useless for the Japanese.

The Chinese Admiral was now in a desperate position. His Fleet, before protected by the hills all around him, was henceforth under the concentrated fire of the Japanese Army; both entrances to the harbour were watched by Japanese gunboats and Japanese cruisers ready to open indirect fire on his ships, while out at sea the Japanese Grand Fleet waited, ready to destroy any of his vessels which might venture out. As a matter of

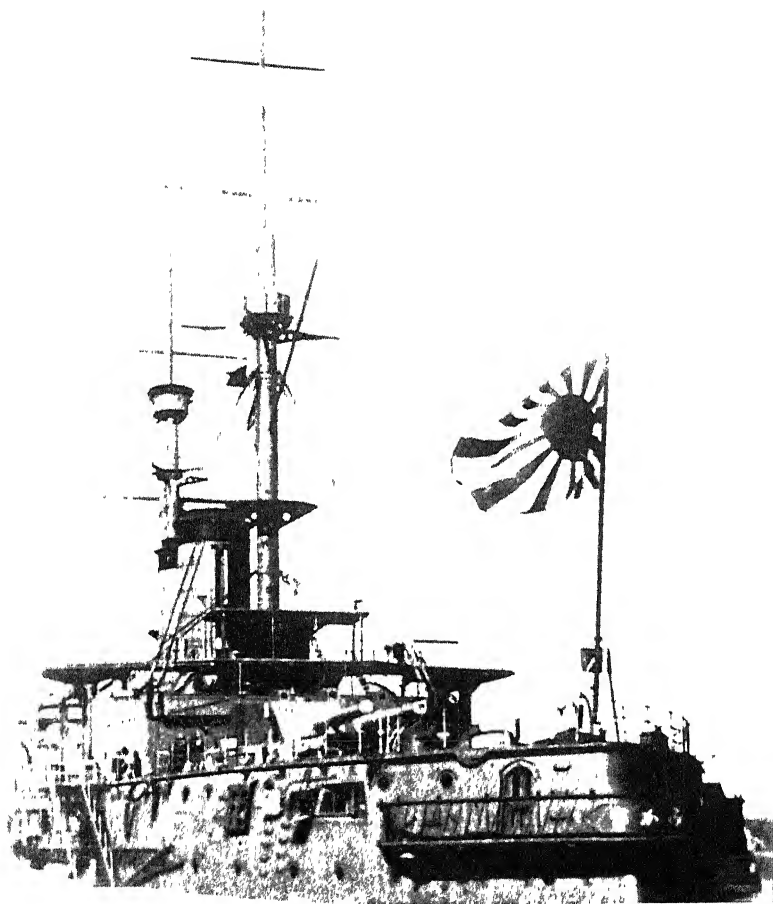
fact, the situation was even more precarious than he imagined, for Admiral Ito, having once failed in his peaceful overture, was not going to waste any more time. The Chinese Squadron must be destroyed immediately and quickly.

On February 1, therefore, the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Squadron issued a short order to the leader of his torpedo flotillas in which it was stated that the remainder of the Chinese Fleet must be sunk without further delay, and exhorting all ranks to carry this out, and, if necessary, sacrifice their lives in the service of the Empire. It was a daring decision to make, and showed the kind of spirit which already animated the Japanese Navy. It is true that the Chinese Fleet, as a fleet, was useless, but it was still able to shoot, and, being at bay, would not surrender until it could fight no more. There were, furthermore, other difficulties to overcome before Admiral Ito's order could be successfully carried out, the greatest being the boom across the harbour entrance, the floating mines, and the fact that, the North China winter having set in, the sea was partially frozen. However, the order had been given and the order would be carried out, so on the night of February 3 a passage was cut through the boom, and at 3 a.m. on the fifth, the Second and Third Flotillas (ten vessels in all) made their way cautiously through the gap, and sailing at full speed succeeded in torpedoing the *Ting Yuan* with a loss of only two Japanese ships. On the following night the same operation was carried out with even greater success, for the *Lai Yuan*, the *Wei Yuan*, and the *Paofa* were sent to the bottom without any Japanese losses.

The Chinese squadron had to all intents and purposes ceased to exist.

But still Admiral Ting did not surrender.

Accordingly, on February 7, the Japanese Squadron



ADMIRAL TOGO'S FLAGSHIP. THE "MIKASA" AS SHE IS TO-DAY

approached to within effective range of Wei Hai Wei and began intensive indirect bombardment of the forts on the island which were still occupied by the Chinese. The Japanese gunnery was accurate, and it was not long before it became evident that the Chinese had little sting left in them. The fire was not being returned, and then, just as Admiral Ito was wondering what would be the next phase in the operations, there suddenly appeared from the entrance of the harbour a flotilla of ten Chinese torpedo-boats steaming at full speed. Admiral Ito at once gave orders to clear for action, while his smaller craft surrounded the battleships; but to his astonishment the Chinese vessels made no attempt to attack, and turning northwards fled in the direction of Chefoo. The First Flying Squadron was immediately ordered in pursuit, and, headed by Captain Togo with the *Naniwa*, set off after the Chinese flotilla. The action was short and decisive, and in under three hours eight enemy vessels had run aground or gone to the bottom, while the two survivors just managed to reach the shelter of Chefoo in a disabled condition.

But still Admiral Ting hung on.

Admiral Ito was, however, becoming exasperated, and moved even closer to the Chinese defences, and during the whole of the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th of February kept up an incessant bombardment, reducing the forts of Wei Hai Wei to powder and destroying the few remaining ships which were still afloat.

Even then Admiral Ting showed unparalleled bravery and refused to give in, and would no doubt have died at his post had it not been for the pressure exerted on him by his subordinates.

When on February 7 the Chinese garrisons of the forts which had not been destroyed saw that part of the Fleet was deserting them, they decided that it was useless to carry on the defence. On October 10, therefore, a

deputation was sent to Admiral Ting, asking him to give up the unequal contest ; the survivors of the crews of the Fleet also joined in this petition. But the Admiral refused to listen to these requests for surrender, and called upon his officers to kill him before he so humiliated himself. But no one moved and no one spoke. The officers stood about their Admiral gazing sullenly at their feet ; some of them covered their faces with their cloaks so as to hide their shame ; others wept quite openly. Then with a last despairing effort Ting addressed the men who had come to ask him to surrender.

“If you wish me to live, fight on,” he cried—“fight on even though your swords be broken and your ammunition exhausted. If you surrender after fighting in this way, your enemies, who place bushido above all things, will treat you with the respect due to you. You will then not only save your lives but your honour. I beseech you to listen to my counsel.”

But the men were demoralized, their fighting spirit was gone, and the Admiral, realizing that he could not alone fight the Japanese Squadron, decided that there was nothing left for him to do but to conform to the wishes of his troops.

Dawn was just breaking on the morning of February 13 when a Chinese gunboat sailed slowly out of the harbour of Wei Hai Wei and drew alongside the Japanese flagship.

Lieutenant-Commander Cheng Pikuang came wearily up the companion ladder to where a group of Japanese staff-officers waited, and asked to see the Commander-in-Chief. He was at once led to the quarters of Admiral Ito, where, without making any statement himself, he handed him a scroll. The Admiral unrolled it and read as follows :

I had intended to fight to the bitter end, and if I am not doing

so it is because I have no more ships and no more men. I, moreover, realize that any future fighting will lead to unnecessary loss of life. I am accordingly surrendering to you what remains of my warships, my arms, my ammunition and those forts which are still under my control. I ask you in return to permit my officers and men to go back to their homes in peace. If you will agree to these conditions the Commander-in-Chief of the British Squadron is my surety.

With all my respect I beg you to give all this your sympathetic consideration.

(Signed) *Ting Fuchang.*
Admiral.

Once more Admiral Ito showed that he was at heart a sentimentalist, and after reading the letter replied at once that he accepted the Admiral's terms of surrender and suggested, once more, that it would be in Ting's interests to come with him to Japan and wait there for the war to end. He added that it was quite unnecessary to ask the British Admiral to act as surety, for he had complete confidence in Admiral Ting's word.

He then had a hamper prepared with cakes and wine, which he requested the Chinese envoy to deliver to his Chief as a personal token of his goodwill which he hoped would, to some extent, mitigate his friend's suffering.

The following day, however, Lieutenant-Commander Chen Pikuang returned to the flagship bringing with him the hamper unopened. He was dressed in Chinese ceremonial mourning, and once again met Admiral Ito and once again handed him a letter. This time there were only a few characters painted on the scroll, which were to this effect :

I have just received your letter, and thank you on behalf of my officers and men. I cannot, however, accept your present owing to the state of war which still exists between our two

countries. I nevertheless appreciate your motives in sending me the hamper and I thank you.

(Signed) *Ting Juchang.*
Admiral.

The messenger waited until Admiral Ito had finished reading, and then said sadly :

“Our Admiral wept at the thought of your kindness, after which he bowed in the direction of Peking and, swallowing poison, died immediately.”

Admiral Ito was so shocked at this news that at first he could make no reply, then in broken tones he said hurriedly :

“In spite of the fact that our countries are at war, I cannot forget the friendship which I had for your Admiral. I am quite overcome.”

He then gave orders that all the vessels of the Grand Fleet should fly their flags at half-mast and refrain from all music or entertainments of any kind.

He then inquired as to what arrangements had been made for the burial of Admiral Ting, and on hearing that as all the Chinese war vessels were out of action the body would be conveyed to Chefoo in a junk, he gave orders that the body of the Chinese Admiral should be carried to its last resting-place on board a Japanese transport, adding :

“Had Admiral Ting Juchang died as he would have wished, his body would have remained on board his flagship. As circumstances have made this impossible, we cannot stand by and see his mortal remains passing our Fleet in a rickety junk. We Japanese, with our spirit of bushido, set value on loyalty ; therefore, to console the noble spirit of the Commander of the Chinese Fleet, we will place a Japanese vessel at your disposal.”

The Japanese Squadron waited until the body of Admiral Ting had been removed to Chefoo, and on

February 17 entered Wei Hai Wei and took possession of what remained of the Chinese defences.

Although the operations round Wei Hai Wei gave little opportunity for Togo to display his abilities as a naval officer, taking, as he did, little or no part in the fighting, I have dwelt on this phase of the war to try to bring out more clearly the mentality of these Japanese people who were so rapidly emerging from the mists of the past.

To read the original account of the actions round Wei Hai Wei almost suggests passages from the Old Testament.

Admiral Ito's letter of advice to Admiral Ting does not, somehow, conjure up modern battleships and 12-inch guns. The fighting on land, in spite of the modern weapons, is as mediæval as in the days of Kublai Khan. The raids inside the harbour by Japanese torpedo-boats take us back to Ancient Greece, and it might have been Roman warriors who covered their faces with their cloaks to hide their shame when Ting's officers insisted that he should surrender.

The suicide of Admiral Lin Taitseng on board the *Ching Yuan*, which he had run aground, hardly belongs to the nineteenth century, and all those scenes on board the *Matsushima* on February 13 and 14 lose much of their colour in modern English. The dramatic speeches, the ceremonial mourning, the tears of grief seem so out of place on board modern battleships among men wearing uniforms of European cut.

It was not, moreover, the survival of mediæval days which had not yet had time to be forgotten. There are examples of the same kind of spirit during the war against Russia, and even to-day those same feelings exist among the officers and men of the ultra-modern Army and Navy of Japan. Japanese sacrificed their lives in Manchuria in 1931, and at Shanghai in 1932, for an

ideal. Officers taken prisoner, through no fault of their own, committed suicide. The spirits of soldiers and sailors who have fallen in battle are annually enshrined in Tokyo and personally addressed by living statesmen as if they still watched over the destinies of Japan. It is the spirit of bushido which remains implanted in the minds of all Japanese from childhood and up.

After the capture of Wei Hai Wei, Captain Togo wrote to a friend:

Admiral Ting Fuchang died as would a Japanese gentleman, admired by us all.

CHAPTER XI

TOGO BECOMES AN ADMIRAL

ONE might have imagined that after all this tragic climax at Wei Hai Wei the war with China would have been brought to an end. But it was not, chiefly because China is not a country which can be technically defeated.

People who have not studied Chinese questions are under the impression that because China is coloured in one shade on the map of the world it is a country like France or Germany. This is, of course, a complete fallacy. China has less unity than South America, for not only are there the two great racial divisions of the people who live north and south of the Yangtse, the millet-eaters and those whose food is rice, but the inhabitants of adjacent provinces have little in common.

To begin with, there is no general language in China which everyone can understand. It is true that Mandarin is the official intermediary of speech among government officials, but only educated people can speak it. Conversation elsewhere is carried on through the intermediary of dialects which are only understood locally. The result of this is that a man from Shantung will find himself unintelligible in Kiang-si, while a traveller from Hankow will have difficulty in making himself understood in Peiping. Added to these linguistic barriers, which keep the Chinese of different districts

separated, the people of the North and the south, the east and the west, have different forms of local government, different agricultural and industrial interests, and little knowledge of what is going on in other parts of China. In some of the remoter districts the farmers still swear allegiance to the Emperor and do not admit that a republic has overthrown the Son of Heaven.

In consequence of this peculiar situation the inhabitants of China think as peoples and not as a people, and there is no national patriotism. As has already been pointed out, China is in a perpetual state of civil war, which does not stop in moments of crisis or when a foreign nation invades the country, local matters being of far greater importance to the Chinese than those which affect the state as a whole.

At the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War the Chinese Empire under the rule of an Emperor was in its twilight, and though there was greater respect for the hereditary ruler and his viceroys than there is for the adventurers who to-day make themselves presidents, the Chinese did not really think as one nation. The Japanese might defeat the Chinese in Shantung, but it would not affect the people of Amoy, and the Cantonese would probably not know what it was all about. Li Hung Chang, in Peking, was naturally surprised and annoyed at the course which events had taken ; but China had partaken in other wars which had fizzled out and been forgotten almost at once. It would have seemed quite normal to the Chinese Government for the Japanese, once they had destroyed the Fleet, to do a bit of looting in the neighbourhood of Wei Hai Wei and return to their own country without further comment.

The Japanese had, however, emerged from a state of being piratical raiders, and although they knew that the conquest of China was out of the question, they were

determined to make the responsible Government pay in cash and in kind for their defeat.

As, therefore, Li Hung Chang was making no signs of suing for peace, the Japanese General Staff determined to make it clear that as far as they were concerned the war was not over.

It was accordingly decided to divide the Fleet into two sections, the first to continue dealing with North China, the second to go south and mop up any remnants of the Chinese Fleet which were believed to have bases in the Pescadore Islands. This latter force was placed under Togo, who after the surrender of Wei Hai Wei had been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral.

Accordingly, on March 15, 1895, this squadron, with a number of transports carrying troops for landing purposes, left for the south. The campaign in the Pescadores is of little interest. The Japanese ships of war sank the few enemy vessels which they encountered and silenced the forts which showed any signs of resistance. There were occasional encounters on land, and the only incident of importance was the running on a rock of the new Admiral's flagship *Yoshino*. Togo had not, however, the suicide complex of many of his compatriots, and, making no comment, transferred his flag to his old ship, the *Naniwa*. What is peculiar is that nothing apparently was said to Togo about the loss of his vessel; in fact, during the whole of Togo's career we see him again and again in a position where the authorities could have made things difficult for him but always being exonerated.

He had two more encounters with British merchantmen, but on these occasions he contented himself with making them heave to while he examined their cargo. It may have been a coincidence, but there appears to be no record of Togo ever having stopped a ship flying under any other foreign flag, and it is to be won-

dered whether this attitude towards the Red Ensign was not due to a mild form of resentment which remained in the back of his mind for the bullyragging which he had received at the hands of English cadets and shipmates. Foreigners, and especially Orientals, do not understand our system of ragging at school and in the Services which, though meaning nothing to us, often hurts the pride of those with different upbringings.

On April 1, the Chinese Government in Peking, realizing that the Japanese were in earnest about the war, signed an armistice, which did not, however, prevent Togo and his squadron continuing to make a careful reconnaissance of all the South China ports. After all, it was only an armistice, and even if hostilities were to be ended, it was exceedingly probable that there would be other wars, and this was a splendid opportunity to obtain a good knowledge of the harbours and their defences.

However, on April 17 peace was definitely signed between China and Japan.

Li Hung Chang, to his chagrin and humiliation, was forced to come to Shimonoseki, to take part in the discussion whereby China agreed to pay an indemnity of two hundred million taels and to cede to Japan Formosa and the adjoining islands as well as Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula. Japan seemed to have done well after the war, and the ratification of the treaty was made at Chefoo on May 8.

When, however, the peace conditions were made public the Chancelleries of Europe began to hum with excitement. The Sino-Japanese War had been watched with interest by all the foreign General Staffs, but it had never occurred to anyone that the Japanese had concrete ideas about making material use of their victory. When it was realized that not only were the Japanese now a nation which it would be necessary to reckon with

in the future on land and sea, but also one having definite aspirations to getting a footing on the Asiatic mainland, the diplomatic telegraphs became busy.

A big helpless China with no Army worth taking into consideration and no Navy at all suited Russia admirably, but a helpless China with a new Japan, strengthened morally and materially, commanding the road to Peking and menacing any Russian advance in that direction was quite a different proposition. Diplomatic notes of protest were all right for other nations, but Russia must do something much more drastic at once.

France was Russia's ally, and was also mixed up in most of Russia's financial affairs, many of which extended to Manchuria and North China. It was therefore in the interests of the French to help the Russians. Germany, which also had definite views about her future in the Far East, and saw, moreover, in Russia a means of keeping Great Britain in the Orient in her place, realized what Japan's establishment in continental Asia might lead to.

Accordingly, Russia, Germany, and France lodged a strong protest with Japan about this annexation of the Liaotung Peninsula, and made it clear that this protest would, if necessary, be backed up by force.

Japan was completely taken by surprise at this interference with her affairs, but, realizing that she was not yet in a position to try conclusions with the West, agreed to renounce her claims to the Liaotung Peninsula. The Russians and the Germans and the French chuckled in their Chancelleries, supposing that Japan understood now that she was an upstart nation who must be kept in her place and not try to adopt the Imperial policies of the great Western Powers merely because she had won a war in Asia. But Japan was not by any means put in her place, and when a few years later Russia calmly leased the Liaotung Peninsula

from China and occupied it herself, the Japanese turned their attention more closely to the development of their Army and their Navy.

Looking at Russia's action in perspective it seems difficult to understand how she was permitted to annex the very piece of territory which she had prevented Japan from taking as a spoil of a war won. True that the Liaotung Peninsula was described as being leased to Russia, but the Chinese had no more say in the matter of its lease than they had when Japan set up Manchoukuo as a protectorate.

The fact of the matter was that the Russians understood the East. From earliest times they had studied Oriental languages, they were adepts at intrigue, they appraised the value of bribery and knew when it was necessary to resort to force. As a result of this Oriental instinct Russia was able to occupy the whole of Siberia and become a menace to China and India and Japan before anyone realized what had happened. Where, however, their psychology failed was in not appreciating the change that had come over the Empire of the Mikado.

It is difficult to say what would have happened had Japan been allowed to keep the Liaotung Peninsula in 1895, but the fact of this European interference, followed by what was to all intents and purposes treachery, had very definite reactions.

In the first place, Great Britain, who had refused to have anything to do with these interferences in Japanese affairs, saw what were the real aims of Russia, and while exonerating France from similar ulterior motives, had no doubts as to what Germany thought she would get out of the deal. Russia had always been a menace to England's Eastern colonial expansion, and now that Russia had an ice-free port in the Pacific the menace was becoming acute. The immediate result, therefore,

of this action on the part of Russia was the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was a definite warning to the Russian General Staff of "so far but no farther".

The Alliance, of course, placed Japan in the position of a First-Class Power, enabled her to defeat Russia, and later absorb Korea, and eventually brought her into the Great War on the side of the Allies.

Germany's participation in this intrigue also antagonized the Japanese against the Germans, and in 1914 caused Japan to have no sentimental feelings about acquiring all Germany's territory in the Far East.

Russia's treachery produced also a very definite reaction in the minds of the Japanese man in the street and in the ranks of the Army and Navy. Rear-Admiral Togo was especially bitter about this bullying of a small nation which had won a war unaided, and there is no doubt that he kept the memory of this affront stored away in his mind until the day of revenge would come. I am not suggesting that all the heroism of the Japanese Army and Navy around Port Arthur would not have been seen under other circumstances or that Togo would not have persevered until he destroyed the Russian Fleet unless he had been embittered. But what must be borne in mind is that the war might never have come if the Russians had not been in the Liaotung Peninsula, whereas the fact of their being on territory which the Japanese regarded as theirs by conquest created a greater incentive to win it back. However, whatever the inner feelings of the soldiers and sailors may have been during the whole of the Russo-Japanese War, it will be noted that Togo showed a lack of sentimentality towards the Russians, and as far as he was concerned there were none of the tears and heroics of the war with China. Again and again during the course of the operations round Port Arthur and during the Battle of the Sea of Japan Togo showed the most complete distrust of

the Russians and a desire only to see them at the bottom of the sea.

However, for the moment the possibilities of a Russo-Japanese war did not seem even likely. Japan had been humiliated, and if she wanted in the future to be in a position to ignore bullying by the West she must see to it that she had a fighting force which other Powers would hesitate to challenge.

Although Formosa had been made over to the Japanese, the Chinese inhabitants of this island were not particularly anxious to change their allegiance to another country. When, therefore, in May of 1895, Admiral Viscount Kabayama was designated as the First Governor-General of Formosa he had to take over his duties supported by battleships and troops.

A squadron of six warships with a torpedo flotilla was accordingly formed and placed under the command of Rear-Admiral Togo, who left Tamsui three days later. A reconnaissance was made, and it at once became evident that the Chinese and the Formosans were determined to sell their territory at a costly price. In fact, the operations connected with the subduing of Formosa dragged on for months, and it was not until the end of October that the last vestige of resistance had disappeared.

For the first time in her history, Japan was a colonial Empire with overseas possessions.

Although it is of little interest to go into the details of the Formosa campaign, it was useful to the Japanese in giving them much experience in the landing of troops under fire, and afforded excellent practice for gunnery on board the warships. Once Togo's men were on shore the Formosans were no match for the Japanese troops in the open ; but there was a great deal of unpleasant and costly fighting in the interior, made all the more trying by the tropical climate. However,

Togo had the spirit of perseverance, and it was chiefly owing to this, combined with a rapidly developing sense of modern strategy, that Formosa was finally pacified.

From this time onwards the young admiral was a marked man, and on November 21, 1895, found himself appointed a member of the Japanese Council of Admirals and President of the Naval Technical Council. He remained in this position for six months and in the spring of 1896 was nominated President of the Higher Naval College.

Togo at once set to work to reform and co-ordinate the training of Japanese naval officers. In fact, this period in Togo's life is one of the most important, as during his Presidency of the Higher Naval College he was able to form the nucleus of officers who in the event of a great war would be of invaluable help to him whose principles of naval strategy they had studied. Togo had no doubt in his mind that a war would come, and that when that war came he would be in a high position of command, and wanted therefore to be sure of having trained men in whom he could trust and whose knowledge of modern warfare would be highly developed.

Curious sidelights on Togo's character are shown during this period at the Naval College.

One day a senior officer calling on the Admiral in his quarters found him engrossed in an English book, and, glancing at the title, discovered that it was *Jane on Chess*. Intrigued, he asked the Admiral if he was taking up chess.

"Yes and no," replied Togo without hesitation. "But I find that this game makes the mind alert and, requiring judgment, is good for those who study tactics. If I can go deeper into chess, I shall surely discover things which will be of use in the study of war. I recommend all naval officers to learn chess."

He also took a personal interest in the compilation of the official history of the Sino-Japanese War, and, speaking one day to the writer of this history, said :

“The great thing to keep in your mind when writing any kind of history is to consider yourself as looking down on what happened from an elevation. Never consider the position of the people who figured in your history, but state impartially what they did and how they did it.”

But while Togo exerted all his energy on the perfecting of the training of Japanese naval officers, his mind kept on turning towards the Russian problem and the conflict which he felt sure must come sooner or later.

He began studying Russian tactics and strategy, and in 1898 had all the works of Vice-Admiral Makaroff translated into Japanese. There is a strange irony of fate in the study of this Russian naval tactician's books, as it was Makaroff who opposed Togo during the early stages of the siege of Port Arthur, and it was by a mine laid by Togo's orders that Makaroff died when his flagship was coming out to attack the Japanese. I do not suppose there is another instance in the history of war of one commander studying the methods of another years before they met in battle.

At the beginning of 1899 Togo had further opportunity of perfecting his preparedness for the Russo-Japanese war, for in the month of January he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Saseho naval base. The Port of Saseho faces the Straits of Korea and commands the entrance to the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, where all the important fighting in the war to come was to take place.

It seems almost as if Fate was dealing all the trump cards into Togo's hands, for during the whole of the period that he was in command at Saseho he did little else but study the coast-lines which came under his

jurisdiction. He made cruises to Korea and had special tables drawn up of prevalent winds, tides, and currents. He examined the harbours on the Japanese coasts and made himself intimate with the shelter afforded by the island of Tsushima. In fact, when in 1900 Togo was dispatched to China in connection with the Boxer Rebellion, there was little he did not know about the eastern part of the Yellow Sea and of the whole of the Sea of Japan.

In a notebook which Togo always kept on his table he made an entry carefully underlined "Chin Hai Bay". No one knew at the time to what this referred, but it was at Chin Hai Bay that the whole of the Japanese Fleet concentrated on February 21, 1905, and it was from Chin Hai Bay that Togo sallied out on May 27 to annihilate the whole of the Imperial Russian Fleet in the most decisive naval battle in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XII

TOGO HELPS TO SUBDUE THE BOXER UPRISING

THE most peculiar characteristic of the Chinese is that they will never learn a lesson. They believe that because they belong to the oldest known race of the world they must be superior to any other. The fact that the Chinese had a semblance of culture hundreds of years before the Siege of Troy causes the present-day Chinese to be convinced that he can learn nothing from other nations, which, having acquired the principles of civilization at a comparatively recent date, must be crude and uncivilized. Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century Occidentals who went to China might be well received by the rulers in power or might be, just as well, imprisoned and executed. However, whatever was their reception, they were all classified as uncouth barbarians not to be unduly encouraged. The Japanese were not even tolerated, but were regarded as a race of savages whose isolated position in the middle of the sea had made it impossible for the Chinese to make of them vassals.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the people of Europe and of America began to realize that China was not only an exceedingly rich country, but also a market for foreign goods. Trade, accordingly, began to be sought by these people of the West; but although some excellent deals were negotiated, in the majority of cases the white men found themselves con-

fronted by the arrogant superiority of the Chinese, who referred to these merchants from the West as "tribute-bearing barbarians". At first the traders tried to deal with the situation themselves, but when it was found that the Chinese took no notice of protests, the Governments concerned were appealed to.

These appeals resulted in several minor punitive expeditions, organized, for the most part, by the British and the French; but though Peking was actually entered and the Summer Palace sacked, once the expeditionary forces had disappeared the Chinese rulers popped up again as arrogant as ever.

Finally the clash came with Japan, and, as has already been shown, the Chinese were thoroughly beaten in every encounter with the despised island savages. The loss of life, material, and territory was great, but what was even greater for the Chinese was the loss of face. For the first time in their history the Chinese had shown themselves to be an inferior people who could be defeated and dictated to by other Asiatics. It might therefore be supposed that this lesson would have caused the Chinese to open their eyes to the reality of the situation and do something about reform. But though a Party, under the protection of the Emperor Kwang Su, was prepared to remodel the system of government and the education of the Chinese Empire, it was quickly suppressed by the all-powerful Empress Dowager. In fact, far from there being any signs of reform or reorganization, the reactionary element at the Court took an ascendancy over the policy of the Forbidden City.

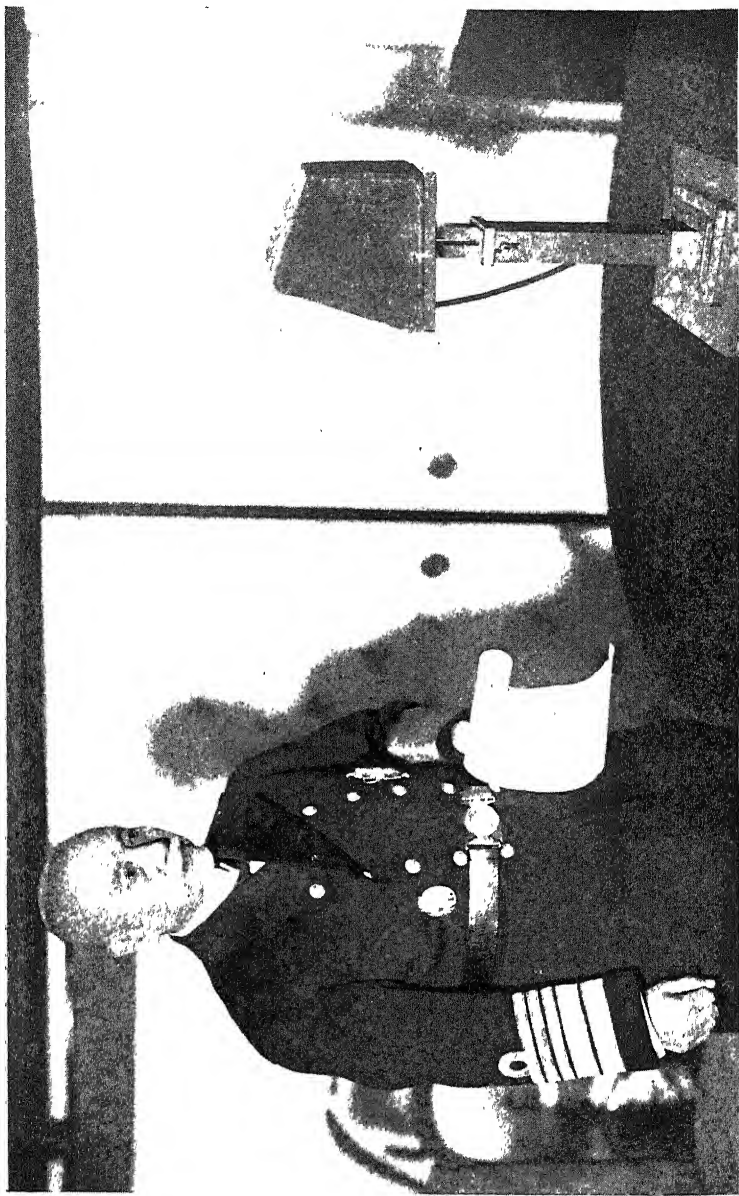
The aim of the reactionary Party was, naturally, to do something which would lower the prestige of the foreign barbarians, regardless of colour, who had helped to humiliate China. This Party found great support in a patriotic association calling itself Iho-t'uan,

or Harmonious Association. One of the societies making up this association was especially anti-foreign, and its members had so worked themselves up that they believed their bodies to be immune to sword or bullet wounds. This was the famous Ihochuan-t'uan, or Harmonious Fist Association, better known as The Boxers. For some years the Boxers had remained fairly quiet, but when the humiliating peace with Japan, in 1895, was followed by the seizure of Kiochau by the Germans in 1898, they reappeared crying for revenge.

For a while the Imperial Government in Peking pretended that it knew nothing of the insurgent movement, and, in fact, made a semblance of suppressing the Boxers. When, however, at the beginning of 1900, foreigners were being openly threatened in North China, it became exceedingly clear to the diplomatic representatives in Peking that the movement, if not actually sponsored by the Empress Dowager, was not condemned, and when, in May of the same year, it began to leak out that the real leader of the Boxers was Prince Tuan Chun, who was in close contact with the throne, the foreign Ministers no longer had any illusions, and called upon their respective Governments to send warships and troops to their assistance.

The Boxers' first open act of hostilities was to tear up the railway track near Tientsin. The only foreign warship in the vicinity was the Japanese gunboat *Atago*, which at once sent a landing party to Tientsin to protect the Japanese concessions. Two days later contingents from the Fleets of Great Britain, America, Russia, France, Italy, and Germany anchored off Taku, and at once began to land troops. On May 31 an allied force of four hundred and fifty-five officers and men left by train for Peking.

On May 20 Vice-Admiral Togo was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Main Squadron,



THE ONLY OCCASION ON WHICH ADMIRAL TOGO BROADCAST, JANUARY 4, 1932, THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE CONFERMENT OF THE IMPERIAL MANDATE ON THE JAPANESE ARMY AND NAVY

and on the 29th of the same month was ordered to send warships to join the allied force at Taku and protect Japanese subjects in North China. He accordingly dispatched two battleships and a destroyer, which arrived at the mouth of Peiho during the first half of June. In the meantime, matters in Peking and Tientsin were going from bad to worse. The Imperial Government had ceased to make protests of friendliness, and it was evident that unless drastic action was taken quickly the lives of all foreigners in this part of China would be in great danger. Landing parties were now fighting with the fanatical Boxers all around Peking, and an allied force of one thousand rifles, under the command of Vice-Admiral Seymour, Commander-in-Chief of the British Squadron, had started marching to Peking. Thus for the first time the Japanese found themselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with men from the Occident. The reaction of this situation on the Japanese troops was unexpected. It might quite reasonably have been supposed that they would have felt ill at ease among these soldiers of the West who up to date had treated the Far East as if it were their private property, and taken a back place, but on the contrary they pushed themselves forward determined to show that they were as good, if not better, than anyone else. At every combined attack the Japanese force always tried to be in the front rank and deliver the assault first. On one occasion, when a Chinese fort outside Tientsin had been captured by a contingent of Japanese, Russian, British, and German troops, the Japanese commander, seeing the Russians hoisting their flag and having none himself, smeared a white cloth in the blood of a dead comrade and climbing to the highest point in the fort hoisted his "home-made" Rising Sun ensign above the flags of his allies.

As soon as reports reached Japan that fighting was

developing seriously, Admiral Togo was ordered to proceed in person with a strong force to Taku and take charge of the situation. This he did on June 19, and found a magnificent array of allied battleships lying off the coast of China. In addition to the nine Japanese vessels, there were nine British, six Russian, six German, five French, two American, one Italian, and one Austrian. Togo was decidedly interested at having this opportunity of seeing foreign naval units at close quarters, and, while the Japanese subordinate officers only thought of showing off their bravery to their allied colleagues, Togo watched. He visited the commanders of the various squadrons and took note of all he saw ; more especially did he scrutinize the Russian vessels and armaments, and, as on the occasion of the visit of the Chinese Squadron to Yokohama in 1895, he came to the conclusion that Japan had little to fear from the Russian Fleet. The summing-up of his observations was, moreover, to prove as accurate as that about the Chinese.

The discipline of the Russian crews he put down as poor, the training not up to the mark, the ships themselves ill-conditioned and being made use of more as transports than fighting units, not ready for immediate action. His report ends with the following short but telling statement :

It appears to me that the Russian Navy is not to be feared as much as people suppose.

There were numbers of councils of war held on board the various battleships of the allied Fleets which appeared to have been carried out in a spirit of cordiality. On one occasion the Viceroy of Kuantung Province, Vice-Admiral Alexieff, came down to inspect the Russian Squadron. He made a point of calling on Togo,

although senior to him in rank, and did his best to ascertain what the future foreign policy of Japan was to be. Togo, however, was a match for his Russian colleague, and either made no replies to the questions put to him or else asked questions himself. In fact, the interview ended rather to the advantage of Togo, who obtained a lot of useful information for his General Staff at home.

Fighting on shore had, in the meanwhile, developed in earnest. The foreign residents of Tientsin and Peking were besieged by the Boxers, and it was evident that the task of relieving them was not going to be too easy. Moreover, the combined relief force, under Admiral Seymour, had itself been held up when only seven miles north of Tientsin and was in a precarious position. The Allies were, however, a determined little army, and on June 23 succeeded in getting a footing in Tientsin, and on the 29th occupied it, while on the 26th Admiral Seymour's force was rescued and brought back to Taku.

Togo could, of course, take no part in the actual fighting, but he superintended the debarkation of landing parties and, when opportunities presented themselves, supported the attack with fire from his squadron. However, once Tientsin was in the hands of the Allies the silent Admiral went on shore, arriving in the relieved town on June 30. Here he borrowed a horse in order to visit the Japanese lines, but being, like most sailors, a poor horseman, nearly came to an untimely end. The horse supplied to Togo appeared to be half asleep, so one of the Staff, riding behind, gave it a lash with his whip. The horse at once took fright and bolted, and it was probably only its instinctive laziness which prevented it from carrying Togo into the enemy lines.

However, once Tientsin had been made safe from the Boxers the "war" took on an entirely military character. A formidable relief army was gathered together to

go to the rescue of the beleaguered Legations in Peking, and Togo was recalled to Japan, handing over his duties to Rear-Admiral Dewa.

In recognition of his services during the Boxer affair, Togo was decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun and promoted to the first class Order of Merit.

Togo did not, however, return direct to Japan, but took the opportunity to visit the whole of Korea and pay special attention to the Korean harbours. War with Russia was still by no means imminent, but Togo was determined to leave nothing to chance, and now that he was sure to be Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Fleet his eagerness to perfect his knowledge of all which might affect the course of the campaign increased.

In February 1901, news came to him that his mother was seriously ill, so, obtaining leave, he hurried to his home in Tokyo. His mother was still alive, but in spite of his devoted nursing of her for ten days she died. Her last words to her son were : "Always be loyal."

Togo was broken-hearted. During his childhood and early boyhood it was his mother who had inspired him with the ideals of a Japanese warrior. During the battle of Kagoshima it was she who by her coolness under fire had called forth the admiration of all the Japanese Samurai. When Togo married she continued living in his house, but never interfered with her daughter-in-law, for she said :

"It is hard to be a good wife, but harder still to be a good mother-in-law."

However, the Admiral could not allow sentiment to interfere with duty, and as soon as the funeral was over he returned to his flagship at Kure and took command of the main standing squadron.

The next two months seemed to have been devoid

of incidents of any importance. Togo superintended the training of his squadron and made cruises along the coast of Korea and up to North China. He now knew these seas intimately and he wanted his officers to be equally well acquainted with them. On his return from his last cruise in the autumn of 1901 he found himself appointed Commander-in-Chief of the newly established naval base of Maizuru.

CHAPTER XIII

PRELUDES TO WAR

WE now reach the most important phase in the history of Admiral Heihachiro Togo : the Russo-Japanese War.

Had there been no war with Russia during Togo's period of active service, it is improbable that his name would have been heard of outside Japanese history books. It may also be conjectured as to whether the outcome of the war would have been the same had not the Japanese Navy possessed a commander-in-chief of Togo's ability.

There are people who are inclined to suggest that Togo was favoured with a lot of good fortune during these two critical years. After studying the question at length and with some profoundness, I entirely disagree with this idea, for although the Japanese Fleet had the advantage of being close to its base, it was Togo's tenacity and patience which enabled it gradually to wear down the Russian sea forces and thus permit the land troops to carry out their operations without fear of being cut off. Had Togo allowed his squadrons to be defeated or placed in an inferior numerical position to the Russian, the Japanese armies would have been separated from their supplies.

It must furthermore be remembered that this was the first time that the Japanese, or for that matter any

Oriental race, faced an Occidental people on an equal war footing. Up to that time all dealings by the West with the East had taken the form of punitive expeditions from Europe, the outcome of which were never in doubt. This time, however, a little island of Asia, which fifty years before was unknown, had challenged the largest country in Europe. The Russians had been a First-Class Power for centuries; they had waged war on the continent of Europe continuously since the beginning of the nineteenth century—their arms were modern and their leaders experienced. Endless resources were at the disposal of the Russian General Staff, and although the lines of communications were long, they were entirely in Russian territory and not separated by the sea.

The Japanese, on the other hand, had but lately emerged from a state of mediæval feudalism; they had only fought one war with an inferior Asiatic people, and they had never pitted their strength against modern armaments. The Japanese commanders were brave, but they had no previous experience on which to work, and although their naval Commander-in-Chief had studied abroad, these studies had been as a cadet in the Merchant Service.

If Russia lost the war, it might have a temporary repercussion, but the effects would be quite local. If, on the other hand, Japan were defeated it would mean the eclipse for some time of the young Empire and the destruction of all hopes of becoming a dominant factor in matters Far Eastern.

The Russians, as it happened, were already being demoralized by internal troubles; but this was not publicly admitted, and was only suspected outside the confines of the Russian Empire. The Japanese did not know that Russia was not in a fit state to carry on a protracted war, for although Togo had suspicions

as to the fighting efficiency of the Russian Army and Navy, they were only suspicions, which would not permit him to take risks. If his Fleet had the misfortune to be destroyed or seriously damaged early in the war, Japan would find herself in the same position as when, in the sixteenth century, the Koreans cut off the Japanese armies in the Chosen Peninsula by annihilating the Japanese naval squadrons of that period.

Marshal Oyama and General Nogi showed themselves to be leaders of the highest merit throughout the fighting on the Asiatic mainland, but their brilliant strategy and tactics would have been valueless had Togo not been in a position to protect the convoys which came from Japan. The strip of sea which separated Japan from the rest of Asia was of only one hundred miles in breadth, but it was, nevertheless, sea which could only be crossed in ships, and must accordingly be protected by the Navy. There was, furthermore, in addition to the Russian squadrons in Asiatic waters, the whole of the Russian Home Fleet in Europe, which, if required, could be sent out East. Togo therefore could not even risk an engagement with the Pacific Squadron unless he was assured of complete victory. A partial victory with a loss of several big units of his Fleet would place him at the mercy of the Russian Home Squadrons. It will thus be seen that if Togo did have luck, it was tempered with a great deal of personal merit in the handling of situations which meant the life or death of Japan.

The real origin of the Russo-Japanese War dates from many years before the actual conflict of 1904. That is to say, that though there were immediate causes for the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Japan, these came into being owing to Russia's general policy in the Far East. Although, properly speaking, Russia is a European Power, five million square miles of her

territory are in Asia. Russia's ambitions had always been to dominate and control the policies of the Far East, believing that it was her mission to guide the destinies of all Asiatic nations. We see her, therefore, from earliest times, pressing eastwards : through Siberia to the Pacific ; through Turkestan and Afghanistan to India, and by way of the Caucasus to Persia.

Until 1895, however, these ambitions in the East had been crowned with little success. True the Russian menace had made the Powers which had interests in Asia, and especially Great Britain, nervous, but it had never been possible for the Russians to really establish themselves outside the confines of Siberia.

The Port of Vladivostock was in Russian territory, but it was useless as a harbour during the winter months owing to its being icebound. Russia wanted Afghanistan, Russia wanted a footing in India, she had aspirations to dominating China, but what she needed, above all, was a warm-water Pacific port as a terminus for the trans-Siberian Railway.

The opportunity to achieve this objective came in 1895, when, as already explained, with the connivance of France and Germany she prevented the Japanese acquiring the Liaotung Peninsula after their victory over China, and then a few years later leased the territory from the Chinese for herself.

Japan never forgave this act of treachery on the part of the Russians, or forgot that Russia had taken advantage of her strength to adopt these bullying tactics. Japan had won a war by fair means and had then found herself not only deprived of her rightful fruits of victory, but made to witness the nation which had interfered take the fruits for herself. Russia's action, furthermore, was a definite menace to Japanese possessions, for with the Russians just over the way with a formidable base at Port Arthur, linked to St. Petersburg

by the trans-Siberian Railway, the Russian Government could dictate terms to a weak Japan.

In 1895 Japan was comparatively weak and would undoubtedly have had to conform to the Russian way of thinking had not an unexpected event taken place. I refer to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Great Britain had refused to take part in the actions of the Powers who wished to see Japan despoiled of her fruits of victory. Her motives were not entirely altruistic, for it did not suit her Far Eastern policies to see a strong Russia established on the Asiatic mainland with a naval base on the Pacific, which would enable her to directly menace English possessions. To begin with, England did not openly declare herself, but when, after the Boxer affair, it was seen that Russia had made this an excuse to establish huge garrisons all over Manchuria, she felt that something drastic must be done. Russia was obviously too far committed to be intimidated by diplomatic Notes, so without further ado England allied herself with Japan.

The making of this Alliance was unprecedented in the annals of British policy—in fact, in the annals of the policy of any European Power, but it had the desired effect. Russia saw at once that the days of bullying Japan were over, for if she attacked her, the new treaty definitely stated that England would “maintain a strict neutrality and use her efforts to prevent other Powers from joining in the hostilities against her allies”, and furthermore, that if Russia drew another country into the conflict on her side, England would at once support Japan.

When, therefore, protests were made to Russia concerning these military occupations of Manchuria, the Russian Government agreed to withdraw these troops in reliefs. The first withdrawal was carried out according to agreement, but in April of 1903 it was seen that

Russia had no real intention of satisfying the demands of other Powers by further withdrawals, and that the troops would remain in position as before.

It was perfectly evident to Japan that Russia had no intention of giving up what she held in Manchuria, and once satisfied that this occupation was admitted, she would spread her influence over North China and Korea. The Russian occupation of North China would be disagreeable to the Japanese, but not a real menace, but any movement in the direction of the Chosen Peninsula must be regarded as a preliminary to a domination of the Japanese islands themselves. Japan had already been robbed of her spoils of victory. She had accepted this because she could do nothing else, but she was not going to risk any further humiliations, and being now well equipped, and with Great Britain behind her, she looked across the sea defiantly at Russia.

On October 15, 1904, Vice-Admiral Togo, Commander-in-Chief of the Maizuru Admiralty Port, was summoned to the Navy Department in Tokyo. As soon as he arrived he was ushered into the private room of the Minister of the Navy, whom he found in conference with the Chief of the Naval Staff. What was said during the three hours Togo remained closeted with the two admirals was not disclosed, but a newspaper reporter stated that when Togo emerged from the Navy Department late in the afternoon there was a sparkle in his eyes and an alertness in his step which was unusual in this man who never betrayed emotion.

Five days later a notice appeared in the *Gazette* to the effect that Vice-Admiral Heihachiro Togo had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Grand Fleet, followed by a number of other Staff appointments from among the naval officers with whom Togo had of late been in continual contact. On October 28, Togo's famous flag, which has since been entrusted to the care

of the *Worcester*, was hoisted at the main-mast of the *Mikasa*.

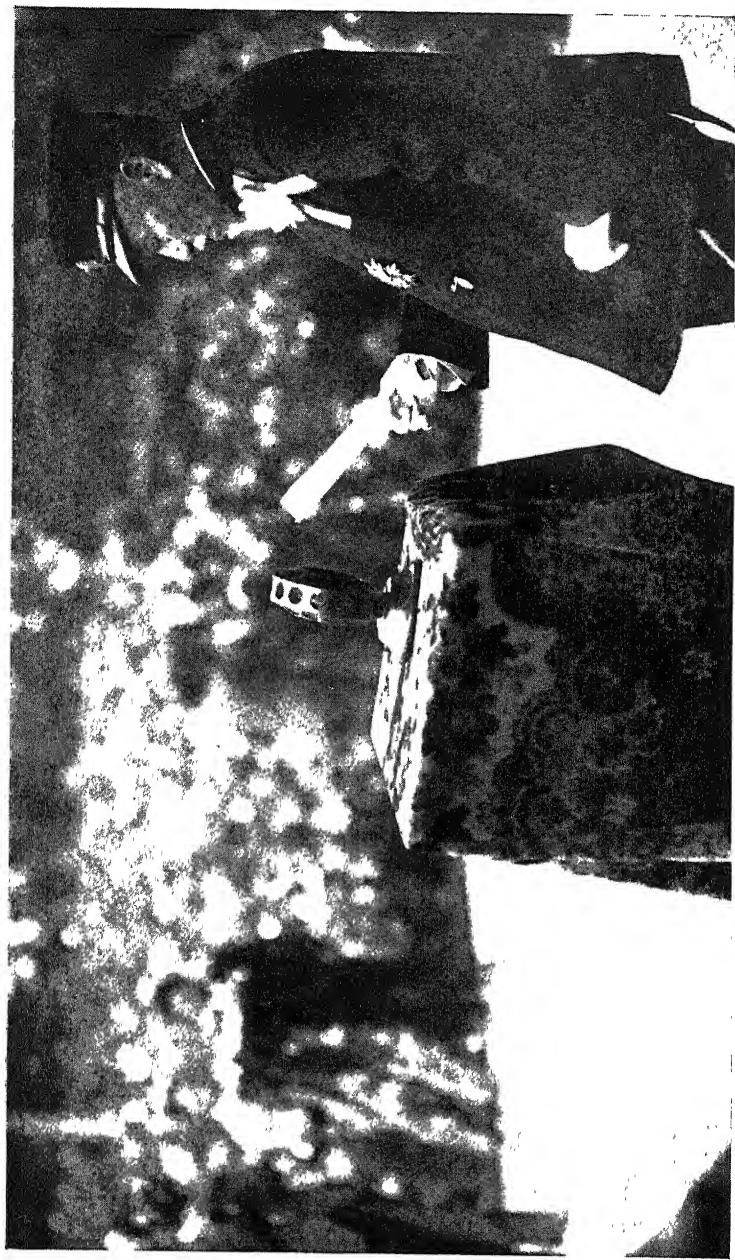
Togo was not quite fifty-six years of age, and of those fifty-six years the majority had been spent in the service of the Japanese Navy. Small of stature, even for a Japanese, he was thick-set and quick on his feet. His grey hair grew sparsely above a broad forehead, and his eyes, which never missed anything, nevertheless gave an impression almost of sleepiness, and rarely reflected any form of emotion. A bristly white moustache covered the upper lip and a stubbly beard the lower part of the chin. Togo's expression was not disagreeable, neither was it prepossessing. He could smile with great charm, and his features usually remained in a state of repose while those sombre eyes watched and those big ears listened. But he seldom spoke.

The *Mikasa*, which was to play such an important rôle during the whole of the Russo-Japanese War, was a battleship of 15,000 tons with a speed of 18 knots. In addition to her smaller armaments, she carried four 12-inch guns. Built in England, she was the pride of the Japanese Navy, and although to-day she looks rather like a launch beside the modern *Hyuga*, what a revolution in fighting ships she must have been to men who had had all their early training on board wooden paddle-boats !

The first thing that Togo did when taking over the command was to put to sea with the entire Fleet for extensive manœuvres, which included gunnery and torpedo-firing.

During these manœuvres he drew up an elaborate plan of campaign which he forwarded to the Chief of the Naval General Staff, and obtained authority to form his Fleet into three main squadrons, which he then concentrated at Saseho harbour.

There was yet no question of war being declared, but Togo was ready.



ADMIRAL TOGO SPEAKING IN PUBLIC FOR THE LAST TIME, ON MAY 27, 1933, THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE
BATTLE OF THE SEA OF JAPAN

As in the succeeding chapters it will be necessary to refer to commanders of squadrons, divisions, and ships of the Russo-Japanese Fleets, it seems opportune at this point to give a list of the two naval forces which confronted each other at the beginning of 1904.

THE STRENGTH AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE JAPANESE COMBINED SQUADRONS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR

JAPANESE COMBINED SQUADRONS

Commander-in-Chief Vice-Admiral Heihachiro Togo

FIRST SQUADRON

Commander-in-Chief (Flagship *Mikasa*) Vice-Admiral Heihachiro Togo

Chief of Staff Captain Hayao Shimamura

Divisional Commander (Flagship *Hatsuse*) Rear-Admiral Tokinori Nashiba

Divisional Commander (Flagship *Chitose*) Rear-Admiral Shigeto Dewa

FIRST DIVISION

NAME	CLASS	TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Mikasa</i>	1st-class battleship	15,140
<i>Asahi</i>	ditto	15,200
<i>Fuji</i>	ditto	12,533
<i>Yashima</i>	ditto	12,320
<i>Shikishima</i>	ditto	14,850
<i>Hatsuse</i>	ditto	15,000

THIRD DIVISION

<i>Chitose</i>	2nd-class cruiser	4,760
<i>Takassago</i>	ditto	4,155
<i>Kasagi</i>	ditto	4,900
<i>Yoshimo</i>	ditto	4,150

DISPATCH-BOAT

<i>Tatsuta</i>	866
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FIRST DESTROYER FLOTILLA

NAME							TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Shirakumo</i>	341
<i>Asashio</i>	341
<i>Kasumi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	363
<i>Akatsuki</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	363

SECOND DESTROYER FLOTILLA

<i>Ikazuchi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	305
<i>Oboro</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	305
<i>Inazuma</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	305
<i>Akebono</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	305

THIRD DESTROYER FLOTILLA

<i>Usugumo</i>	274
<i>Shinonome</i>	274
<i>Sazanami</i>	305

FIRST TORPEDO FLOTILLA

Nos. 67, 68 and 69	89
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FOURTEENTH TORPEDO FLOTILLA

<i>Chidori</i>	152
<i>Hayabusa</i>	152
<i>Manazuru</i>	152

SECOND SQUADRON

In Command of the Squadron (Flagship	Vice-Admiral	Hikonojo
<i>Izumo</i>)	Kamimura	
Chief of Staff	Captain	Tomosaburo
		Kato
Divisional Commander (Flagship	Rear-Admiral	Sotaro
<i>Iwate</i>)		Misu
Divisional Commander (Flagship	Rear-Admiral	Sotokichi
<i>Naniwa</i>)	Uryu	

SECOND DIVISION

NAME							TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Izumo</i>	..	..	1st-class cruiser	..	..	..	9,733
<i>Azuma</i>	..	..	ditto	..	..	..	9,326
<i>Asama</i>	..	..	ditto	..	..	..	9,700
<i>Yakumo</i>	..	..	ditto	..	..	..	9,695
<i>Tokiwa</i>	..	..	ditto	..	..	..	9,700
<i>Iwate</i>	..	..	ditto	..	..	..	9,773

FOURTH DIVISION

NAME	CLASS				TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Naniwa</i>	2nd-class cruiser	..	..	..	3,650
<i>Akashi</i>	ditto	..	..	..	2,755
<i>Takachiho</i>	ditto	3,650
<i>Nittaka</i>	3rd-class cruiser	3,366

DISPATCH-BOAT

<i>Chihaya</i>	1,238
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FOURTH DESTROYER FLOTILLA

<i>Hayadori</i>	375
<i>Harusame</i>	375
<i>Murasame</i>	375
<i>Asagiri</i>	375

FIFTH DESTROYER FLOTILLA

<i>Kagero</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	247
<i>Murakumo</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	247
<i>Yugiri</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	247
<i>Shiranui</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	247

NINTH TORPEDO FLOTILLA

<i>Aotaka</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	152
<i>Iebato</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	152
<i>Karigane</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	152
<i>Tsubame</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	152

TWENTIETH TORPEDO FLOTILLA

Nos. 62 and 64 .. ..	..	..	..	..	109
Nos. 63 and 65 .. ..	..	..	..	..	109

VESSELS ATTACHED FOR SPECIAL SERVICE

<i>Kasuga Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	3,819
<i>Hongkong Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	6,169
<i>Nippon Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	6,168
<i>Oshima</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	620
<i>Akagi</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	612
<i>Tzaichu Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	3,319
<i>Tainan Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	3,311
<i>Nikko Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	5,823
<i>Miike Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	3,364
<i>Kobe Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	2,877
<i>Kinshu Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	3,853
<i>Yedo Maru</i> .. ..	..	..	..	..	3,182

NAME	TONS DISPLACEMENT					
<i>Yamaguchi Maru</i>	3,320
<i>Fukuoka Maru</i>	2,744
<i>Jinsen Maru</i>	1,445
<i>Taro Maru</i>	3,117
<i>Hikosan Maru</i>	3,712

THIRD SQUADRON

In Command of the Squadron (Flagship <i>Itsukushima</i>)	Vice-Admiral Shichiro Kataoka					
Chief of Staff	Captain Shizuyoshi Nakamura					
Divisional Commander (Flagship <i>Izumi</i>)	Rear-Admiral Masa- michi Togo					
Divisional Commander (Flagship <i>Fuso</i>)	Rear-Admiral Sukeuji Hosoya					

FIFTH DIVISION

NAME	CLASS	TONS DISPLACEMENT			
<i>Itsukushima</i>	.. 2nd-class cruiser	..	..	4,210	
<i>Chin-yen</i> ..	.. 2nd-class battleship	..	..	7,670	
<i>Hashidate</i>	.. 2nd-class cruiser	..	..	4,210	
<i>Matsushima</i>	.. ditto ..	..	..	4,210	

SIXTH DIVISION

<i>Izumi</i> ..	.. 3rd-class cruiser	..	..	2,987	
<i>Suma</i> ..	.. ditto ..	..	..	2,657	
<i>Akitsushima</i>	.. ditto ..	..	..	3,159	
<i>Chiyoda</i> ..	.. ditto ..	..	..	2,450	

SEVENTH DIVISION

<i>Fuso</i> ..	.. 2nd-class battleship	..	..	3,783	
<i>Heiyen</i> ..	.. 1st-class gunboat	..	..	2,150	
<i>Kaimon</i> ..	.. coast-defence ship	..	..	1,350	
<i>Iwaki</i> ..	.. 2nd-class gunboat	..	..	656	
<i>Chokai</i> ..	.. ditto ..	..	..	612	
<i>Atago</i> ..	.. ditto ..	..	..	612	
<i>Saiyen</i> ..	.. coast-defence ship	..	..	2,519	
<i>Tsukuba</i> 1st-class gunboat	1,350	
<i>Maya</i> 2nd-class gunboat	612	
<i>Uji</i> ditto	610	

DISPATCH-BOAT

<i>Miyako</i>	1,771
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PRELUDES TO WAR
TENTH TORPEDO FLOTILLA

149

NAME					TONS DISPLACEMENT
Nos. 40, 41, 42 and 43	109

ELEVENTH TORPEDO FLOTILLA

Nos. 72, 73, 74 and 75	89
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SIXTEENTH TORPEDO FLOTILLA

<i>Shirodaka</i>	126
Nos. 39 and 66	109
No. 71	89

VESSELS ATTACHED FOR SPECIAL SERVICE

<i>Toyohashi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	4,055
<i>Ariake Maru</i>	..	..	..	..	..	2,987

RUSSIAN PACIFIC SQUADRON AT PORT
ARTHUR

Commander-in-Chief (Flagship <i>Petropavlovsk</i>)	Vice-Admiral Stark
Chief of Staff	Captain Ebbergarta
In Command of Battleship Squadron (Flagship <i>Czarevitch</i>)	Rear-Admiral Mar- quis Ukhtomsky
In Command of Cruisers	Rear-Admiral Reitzenstein

FIRST-CLASS BATTLESHIPS

NAME					TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Petropavlovsk</i>	..	..	..	..	10,960
<i>Czarevitch</i>	..	..	..	..	12,912
<i>Retvisan</i> ..	..	..	..	..	12,902
<i>Peresvyet</i> ..	..	..	..	..	12,674
<i>Pobieda</i>	12,674
<i>Poltava</i>	10,960
<i>Sevastopol</i>	10,960

FIRST-CLASS CRUISER

<i>Bayan</i>	7,726
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SECOND-CLASS CRUISERS

<i>Pallada</i>	6,731
<i>Diana</i>	6,731
<i>Askold</i>	5,905

THIRD-CLASS CRUISERS

NAME							TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Boyarin</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,020
<i>Novik</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,080
<i>Zabeika</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,236

GUNBOATS

<i>Gremistch</i> and another	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,492
<i>Giliak</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	963
<i>Bobr</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	950

TORPEDO-GUNBOATS

<i>Vzadonik</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	400
<i>Gaidamak</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	405

DESTROYERS

<i>Buditelini</i> and four others	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Vlastini</i> and three others	..	..	..	..	..	..	312
<i>Resitelini</i> and two others	..	..	..	..	..	..	240
<i>Lieutenant Prakhoff</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	280
<i>Boiki</i> and another	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Grosovoi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	312
<i>Steregustchi</i> and eight others	..	..	..	..	..	..	240

OTHER VESSELS

<i>Amur</i>	..	..	mine-layer	..	..	..	2,653
<i>Yenisei</i>	..	..	mine-layer	..	..	..	2,653
<i>Angara</i>	..	..	converted cruiser	..	..	..	12,000

AT TALIENWAN

<i>Razboynik</i>	..	3rd-class cruiser	..	..	..	1,329
<i>Zujgid</i>	..	ditto	..	..	..	1,334

AT CHEMULPO

<i>Variag</i>	..	2nd-class cruiser	6,500
<i>Koreetz</i>	..	gunboat	1,213

AT YINGKOW

<i>Sivuch</i>	..	gunboat	950
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AT SHANGHAI

<i>Mandjur</i>	1,416
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AT VLADIVOSTOCK

In Command (Flagship *Rossia*) .. Captain Letzenstein

NAME	CLASS				TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Rossia</i>	1st-class cruiser	..	..	..	12,195
<i>Gromoboi</i>	ditto	..	..	..	12,359
<i>Rurik</i>	ditto	..	..	..	10,936
<i>Bogatyr</i>	2nd-class cruiser	..	..	..	6,675
<i>Lena</i>	converted cruiser	..	..	..	10,675

TORPEDO-BOATS

NO.							
201 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	76
202 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	76
203 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	140
204 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	140
205 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	130
206 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	130
208, 209 and 210, 211 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	120
91 and 92 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	24
93, 95, 97 and 98 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
94 .. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22

TOTAL TONNAGE

Japanese Combined Squadrons	260,000
Russian Pacific Squadron	190,000
Russian Home Squadron	320,000

It will be seen, therefore, that although the Japanese Fleet was superior to the Russian Pacific Squadron, a determined attack on the part of the enemy could seriously cripple the Japanese and leave them inferior to the Russian Home Fleet if it came out East.

How Togo succeeded in destroying the Russian Pacific Squadron while keeping his own Fleet almost intact will be the subject of the next chapters.

The achievement was, perhaps, even greater than the victory at the Battle of the Sea of Japan.

CHAPTER XIV

THE JAPANESE TASTE RUSSIAN BLOOD

THE year opened with war clouds hovering ominously over the Far Eastern horizon. The rest of the world watched apprehensively the situation which was gradually working itself up to a crisis. The only people who did not seem to take the matter seriously were the Russians.

Admiral Alexieff, the Russian Viceroy of the Far East, was one of those autocrats of the old school who believed only in force. He could not, or would not, admit that a small Asiatic nation had any right to challenge Russian statecraft, and he did not believe that in the event of matters being brought to a head the Japanese would fight.

In the meantime, the concentration of Russian troops continued to increase in Southern Manchuria and on the borders of Korea. The Japanese made various protests through diplomatic channels, but the Russians always temporized and made it clear that they would not admit the Japanese having any rights to interfere in their Manchurian policy.

It seems incredible, when one looks at the situation in the perspective of years, that the Russians should have been so ignorant about the Japanese character and so ill-advised about the state of preparedness of the Japanese Army and Navy. Every man in Japan was not only ready to fight and anxious to do so, but the army

corps, as well as the naval squadrons, were prepared to go into action at a moment's notice.

In fact, in January of 1904 Togo had occasion to deal with cases verging on insubordination from the junior ranks of his officers who actually brought petitions to their Commander-in-Chief demanding that war should be declared without further preliminaries. The members of one of the deputations which visited the flagship became so heated in their speech that the Admiral's staff was on the point of taking disciplinary action, when suddenly Togo, turning his sombre eyes in the direction of the spokesman of the party, said :

"Have confidence in Togo."

This was the last occasion on which any deputation was brought to the Commander-in-Chief regarding the war, but it shows the kind of spirit which animated the minds of the Japanese naval and military forces.

On February 5, 1904, the Japanese Government decided that it was useless to continue negotiations with the Russian, and an Imperial Rescript was issued ordering the Fleet to move.

On February 6, Togo summoned the commanders of all his squadrons and divisions to the flagship, and after reading the Imperial Rescript added :

"Our combined squadrons will leave Saseho harbour this morning, and proceeding into the Yellow Sea defeat the enemy's squadrons about Port Arthur and Chemulpo. Upon the outcome of this war depends the safety of our country, and with his Majesty's glory covering us, I intend, with you officers, to crush the enemy, and thus set his Majesty's mind at rest."

There is a magnificent self-confidence in this order, and yet it was not spoken in a spirit of arrogance. In fact, Togo was never arrogant. He was a deeply religious man, and prefaced many of his orders of the day with religious phrases. He had a confirmed belief that the

gods would support the Japanese cause, and whenever the Fleet was nearing the enemy he would hoist the signal :

“Believe in heavenly assistance and achieve success for the Combined Squadrons.”

Nevertheless, every time that Togo issued an order it was in this tone of self-assuredness—not merely to attack the enemy, but to defeat and destroy him. The Japanese Fleet, moreover, always acted up to the spirit of the Commander-in-Chief, and it was greatly due to this that the Japanese were always victorious.

As soon as the various commanders had returned to their units the signal was given to put to sea, and slowly the Japanese Grand Fleet steamed out of Saseho harbour.

In the van, Admiral Dewa led the First Squadron, which was accompanied by the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Ninth and Fourteenth Destroyer Flotillas, and was followed at a short interval by the Second Squadron under Vice-Admiral Kamimura, flying his flag on the *Izumo*. The Commander-in-Chief, with the First Division, weighed anchor next, and the rear was brought up by Rear-Admiral Uryu, with the Second Division and three transports, until finally the Third Squadron, under Vice-Admiral Kataoka, disappeared into the morning mist.

It was a spectacle which had never been seen before in the history of Japan.

But although the Fleet had put to sea, ready to fight when the occasion presented itself, war had not actually been declared between Russia and Japan. The situation was, in fact, not unlike that at the beginning of the war with China. Togo therefore proceeded with the utmost caution, and reached the south-east coast of

Korea during the afternoon of October 7. He then sent a scouting force in the direction of Chemulpo, following himself later in the evening. The next morning he reached the island of So Chong Do, where his scouting force returned to report that there were no signs of the enemy. The Commander-in-Chief therefore ordered a further advance, and at about 5 p.m. of the same day had reached the island of Yuan Tao, forty miles from Port Arthur.

Here he paused, as it was evident that either the Russians did not expect the Japanese to attack before the official opening of hostilities or were not, as supposed, concentrated about Port Arthur. Togo accordingly signalled to three destroyer flotillas to sail at full speed to Port Arthur and engage any enemy vessels which they might encounter. A great shout went up from the crews of the smaller craft as they swept past the flagship and disappeared into the night. Shortly after the main squadrons weighed anchor and followed the destroyers.

The three flotillas reached the vicinity of Port Arthur at about 10-30 p.m., where they came under the rays of the searchlights mounted on the Russian forts. Almost simultaneously they encountered enemy torpedo-boats, which they at once attacked.

To the surprise, however, of the Japanese, the Russians did not reply to their fire, for the very good reason that, as war had not yet been declared, they had received orders on no account to engage any enemy vessels which they might meet. In fact, so little were the Japanese expected that even when the report of what was happening outside Port Arthur was brought to the Russian Commander-in-Chief, he would not believe it.

All this was very unfortunate for the Russians, as it enabled the Japanese to discharge their torpedoes unmolested, which did considerable damage to the battleships at the entrance to the harbour, the *Pallada*, the *Czarevitch*, and the *Retvisan* being all hit below the water-

line and obliged to beach themselves. The natural results of this, moreover, were to raise the Japanese spirits and correspondingly to lower those of the Russians.

In the meantime, Togo, with his main fleet, had been drawing nearer and nearer to Port Arthur, until at 1-30 a.m. he was able to distinguish the rays of the searchlights trying to locate the Japanese destroyers. He accordingly increased his speed and ordered Admiral Dewa, with the Third Division, to endeavour to get into touch with the Russian Fleet.

Admiral Dewa reached the vicinity of Port Arthur at dawn, and at 9-45 sent a message to the Commander-in-Chief that a large number of enemy ships were lying outside the harbour. Togo at once formed his squadron into line-ahead and, hoisting the battle flag, steered at full speed towards Port Arthur. The first naval battle of the Russo-Japanese War was about to be fought.

At 11-26 a signal fluttered to the masthead of the *Mikasa* :

“Victory or defeat depends on this action ; you must do your best.”

The sentiment expressed in this signal may appear to have been premature at this stage of the war, but what Togo meant was that the effect of this first attack would have lasting repercussions not only on the Russians and the Japanese, but on public opinion in the rest of the world.

The range between the two Fleets was now 8500 metres, but the Russian Fleet did not seem to know what it should do. Some of the larger ships weighed anchor and made for the shelter of the harbour, others remained where they were, while a few came out as if to engage the Japanese. At about noon, Togo asked the range, and on being told that it was now 7500 metres, ordered his

12-inch guns to open fire. The silence of the morning was broken by a deafening roar as the Japanese squadrons discharged their broadsides at the Russian battleships and forts, which immediately replied.

It soon became apparent that the Japanese gunnery was superior to that of the Russians, for although the *Mikasa* had been hit three times, while the *Fuji* and the *Shikishima* had received severe punishment, their armour had not been pierced and their fighting capacity was in no way impaired. On the other hand, the Russian cruiser *Novik* had been disabled, while the *Askold* had to leave the line. The remaining ships of the Russian squadrons did not even attempt to venture out of the cover of their land forts. Togo vainly endeavoured to lure the Russians out to sea, but realizing that they would not leave the protection of their forts, he broke off the engagement early in the afternoon. Even then the Russians made no attempt to follow, and the whole of the Japanese Fleet was able to withdraw in an orderly fashion.

As Togo had anticipated, the result of this first encounter had very distinct consequences on the future of the war, for it showed to the Japanese rank and file that not only were they a match for Western Navies, but that these same Western Navies were afraid to tackle them in the open. It further demonstrated to the senior officers that Japanese gunnery was well up to the mark, and could be depended on to punish the Russians, while Russian shooting was, on the average, poor.

The moral effect of the encounter was correspondingly damaging to the Russians, and we find henceforward little desire on the part of the Russian High Command to risk a pitched battle with the Japanese. Furthermore, the Japanese showed efficiency and co-ordination in their method of attack, while the Russians were undecided and seemed to have no one who was willing to shoulder the

responsibility of taking the initiative. For example, the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Stark, was summoned at the height of the battle to a conference with Admiral Alexieff, and wasted over an hour in discussion. Even when once more back on his flagship he was forbidden to allow his Fleet to pursue the Japanese or move outside the covering protection of the guns on land. The Russian contemporary account of the battle says that "while the crews of the Japanese ships sang triumphal war songs during the whole engagement the Russian sailors were sullen and morose". It seemed almost as if they had a premonition of the fate which awaited most of them far from their homes.

In the meantime, the Russians had suffered further disasters at Chemulpo on the Korean coast. Before sailing towards Port Arthur, Togo had taken the precaution of dispatching Rear-Admiral Uryu, with the Fourth Division, to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Chemulpo, where the presence of some units of the Russian Fleet had been reported. Uryu had further been entrusted with the landing of Japanese troops from the transports which accompanied the main fleet. Admiral Uryu accordingly sailed for Chemulpo, which he reached on February 8, and, having ascertained that only two Russian battleships lay at anchor within the harbour, at once proceeded to carry out the landing of the army. This operation was completed during the early hours of February 9. Uryu then sent a message to the Japanese Consul in Chemulpo requesting him to inform the commanders of the Russian vessels that unless they left the harbour before noon he would take possession of their ships and intern them for the rest of the war.

The Russians, naturally, refused to surrender without a fight, and before the appointed time the two battleships the *Variag* and *Koreetz* weighed anchor and made for the open sea, where the Japanese Squadron waited. The

battle was so short that it was really over before it had begun, both Russian warships being sent to the bottom without having the opportunity to inflict any damage on Admiral Uryu's division.

Uryu made a further reconnaissance of Chemulpo, and, satisfied that no more Russians lurked there, withdrew his squadron, and on the 10th rejoined the main fleet.

The news of these two initial successes of the Japanese sea forces was received with wild enthusiasm in Japan. The little apprehension as to the wisdom of war which had existed in the minds of those statesmen with pacific tendencies was dispelled, while the General Staff made much of the victories and the Emperor sent a personal congratulatory message to his Commander-in-Chief. Togo's reply to the Imperial message is worth quoting as an example of the Japanese reverence for the throne.

Imperial Japanese Combined Fleet. At sea.

February 14, 1904.

I most humbly beg to state that the victory gained by the combined squadrons in the first engagement was due to the virtuous dignity of His Majesty, the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese land and sea forces ; and we, your Majesty's servants, are most deeply moved by the gracious Imperial Rescript that has been granted in reference to this victory. We are determined by still further efforts to clear the sea of the remaining enemy and thus carry out the Imperial command.

February 11 being the anniversary of the accession to the throne of the first Emperor of Japan, Jimmu Tenno, six hundred years before the birth of Christ, all ranks of the Fleet spent the day in prayer. When the devotions were over the Commander-in-Chief issued his orders for the second attack on Port Arthur.

CHAPTER XV

THE SUCCESSIVE ATTACKS ON PORT ARTHUR AND THE SINKING OF THE RUSSIAN FLAGSHIP

ALTHOUGH this book is not the history of the Russo-Japanese War, it is necessary to go into a certain amount of detail regarding the naval aspect of hostilities which were conducted under the orders of Admiral Togo during the course of the succeeding eleven months.

In spite of his initial successes, the Commander-in-Chief knew that as far as Port Arthur was concerned he was a long way from victory, and that, moreover, as long as the Russian Pacific Fleet remained undefeated he was in imminent danger of having his own squadrons destroyed by the Baltic Fleet, which might at any moment be dispatched to the Far East.

Port Arthur was one of the strongest fortresses of its kind in existence. A girdle of formidable forts, dominating the rest of the country, protected it from an attack by land, while long-range guns of large calibre made it impossible for a hostile Fleet to run the gauntlet and enter the harbour from the sea. Togo therefore realized that if he could not lure the Russian Fleet into the open sea he must bottle it up in its own harbour so that it could no longer menace him. This operation, however, would not be an easy task, as with the before-mentioned guns it would be exceedingly difficult for craft of any kind to pass through the narrow mouth of the harbour, while the

mines which strewed the water off the coast might, with any luck, destroy a large proportion of the Japanese Fleet.

Happily for Togo, the Russians did not seem to have yet estimated the character of the enemy which faced them, and while Admirals Stark and Alexieff did little in the way of making plans for defensive or offensive action, the Home Government made no preparations for the immediate dispatch of the Baltic Fleet. Had the Baltic Fleet been rushed out East at the outbreak of hostilities the whole course of the war might have been altered. As it was, the Russian Fleet in Europe was not formed for service abroad until April 30, 1904, and did not leave Libau until October 15 of the same year.

Unfortunately, bad weather with severe snowstorms developed during the middle of February, and although two Japanese destroyers succeeded in making their way to the entrance of Port Arthur and discharging torpedoes, no known damage was inflicted on the Russian ships.

This minor attack had, nevertheless, a demoralizing effect on the Russians, to whom such audacity from a despised Oriental people was incomprehensible. The Russian warships therefore moved further into the harbour, and the defence of the entrance was left to patrol-boats and to the fortresses.

On realizing what Admiral Stark's policy was to be, Togo determined to make a bold attempt to block the entrance to Port Arthur while the Russian Fleet was inside.

To carry out his purpose he sent for five old transports, which he hoped to be able to sink in the middle of the channel, and thus make it exceedingly difficult for the Russians to emerge into the open sea. This operation, nevertheless, would be fraught with great difficulties and dangers, but knowing his men and of what they were capable, Togo had no difficulty in selecting some

capable young officers to take charge of the expedition, and then called for fifty volunteers from the rank and file of the torpedo craft to assist them. Two thousand men applied for the fifty posts—in fact, in some cases the greatest tact had to be used to prevent the choice of men from causing dissatisfaction among those left behind. On February 19, all arrangements had been completed for the blockading operations, and the Commander-in-Chief invited the officers taking part to dine on board his flagship. Conversation was unrestrained and general, no reference being made to the coming adventure, which would probably mean certain death for most of the guests at dinner. Only at the end of the meal did the Admiral speak of what was at the back of the minds of all, and raising his glass, he said :

“You have a difficult task before you, but I look to you to succeed.”

For a moment a smile relaxed his stern features and, drinking the contents of his glass, he sat down again. A few minutes later the little party broke up.

On October 20, the whole Fleet moved to within striking distance of Port Arthur, and on the 23rd, the weather being favourable, the Commander-in-Chief gave orders for the blockading vessels, with their two escorting destroyer flotillas, to make for their objective.

It was almost dusk when the attacking force slowly drew away from the main fleet. From the bridge of the *Mikasa*, Admiral Togo scrutinized each vessel through his binoculars as she passed, while, on the decks, the ships' companies watched their comrades moving away into the darkness. There was no cheering, no talking. As the last destroyer disappeared into the night the silent Admiral lowered his glasses and went slowly to his quarters, where he awaited the news of the operations.

Shortly after midnight the blockaders reached the neighbourhood of Port Arthur, but partly owing to the

concentrated fire from the forts and partly to the dazzling rays of the searchlights, which confused the commanders of the attacking ships, the operation was only partially successful. All the vessels sank themselves or blew themselves up as ordered, but only one did so in the actual channel of the harbour entrance.

On February 25, therefore, Togo decided to make another attempt to come to conclusions with the Russian Fleet, which, he was informed, now lay at anchor outside the harbour. This venture nearly cost him his life and that of many of his ships, for while he was manœuvring into range, wondering why the guns in the fortresses did not open fire, he suddenly discovered that he was on the very edge of a minefield. He was just able to turn his flagship and his squadron away before striking a mine which he himself saw floating just below the surface of the sea, and from that day onwards he kept outside the dangerous zones about Port Arthur. During the next ten days Togo gave the Russians a short respite, confining his activities to having the entrance of the harbour watched by his destroyers. In the meantime, he detached the Second Squadron to try to entice into battle the half-dozen Russian cruisers and their attendant destroyers which had remained in Vladivostock. As usual, however, the Russians were not going to risk anything; but Togo felt it more prudent to leave this force in the Sea of Japan to deal with any emergency. He also sent another division of his Fleet to the mouth of the Taidong River to assist in the landing of the Japanese armies, which was now beginning in earnest.

On March 8, however, important news was brought to Togo which made him turn his attention again to Port Arthur. The Russians, feeling that something must be done to teach a lesson to these insolent little people who showed such a lack of respect for their proud fortress of the Far East, had sent out Vice-Admiral

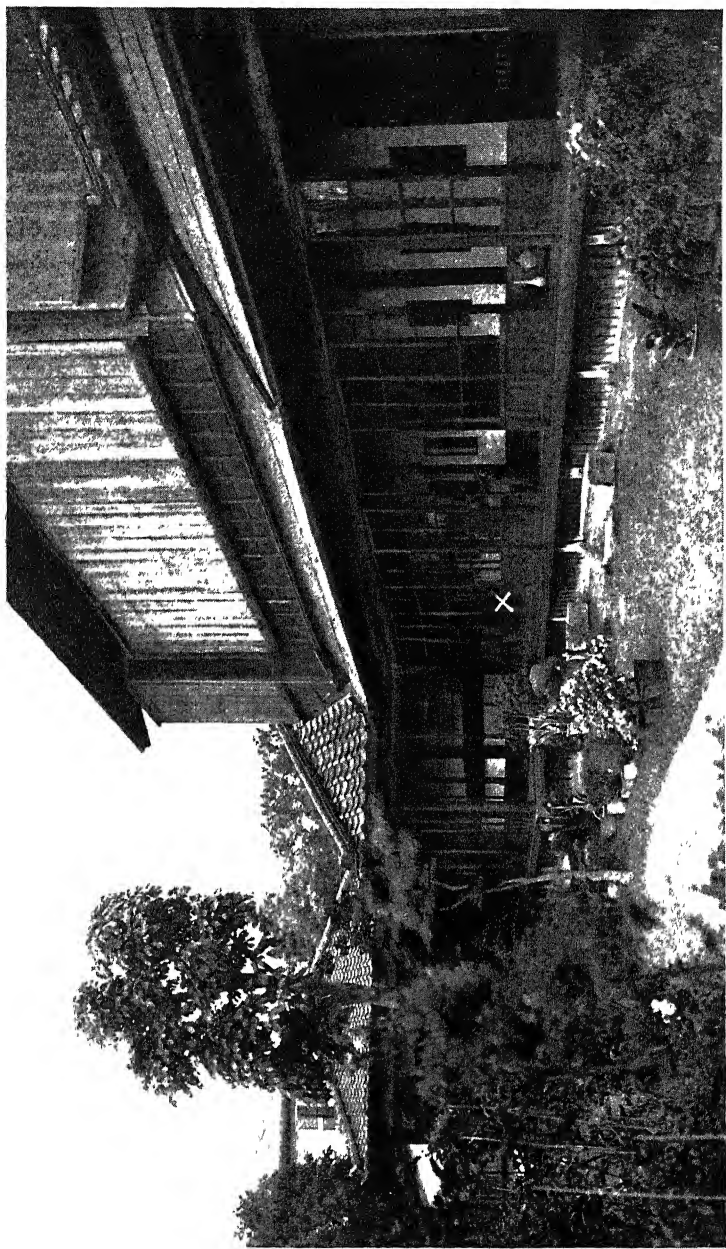
Stepan Osipovich Makaroff to take over command from the incompetent and timorous Stark.

Vice-Admiral Makaroff was an exceedingly able naval officer, who had written at length about the strategy of warfare at sea. He was internationally known as a bold tactician, and it was his book which Togo had so carefully studied before the war. Up to this time he had been Commander-in-Chief of the naval base at Kronstadt.

Every Japanese naval officer was familiar with the name of Makaroff, and watched with interest what would be the reaction on their own Commander-in-Chief of the news of Makaroff's coming to Port Arthur. But the only comment which Togo made was to the effect that the presence of Stark or Makaroff in the Pacific made no difference to his plans, and whoever commanded the Russians would not change the outcome of the war, and as if to prove his words he immediately ordered an attack on Port Arthur.

The attack was accordingly carried out on the night of March 9. This time the enemy destroyers came out to fight, and during the whole of the night a miniature battle raged at the mouth of the harbour. However, owing to the darkness, little serious damage was done on either side. One Russian torpedo-boat was sunk, and the Japanese destroyers had to retire at dawn, many of them with their superstructures badly knocked about. While this had been going on, Togo had brought his larger ships to the south of Laotiehshan and began bombarding Port Arthur with indirect fire. Unfortunately, there was no point from which the effects of the bombardment could be observed, but that did not worry the Commander-in-Chief, provided he could show the new Russian admiral that he was there with no intentions of going away.

The fighting after this went on intermittently around the entrance to the harbour, for although the presence



ADMIRAL TOGO'S HOME FROM 1881 TO THE DAY OF HIS DEATH (X MARKS THE ROOM IN WHICH TOGO DIED)

of Admiral Makaroff had raised the spirits of the Russian garrison, it did not make the Fleet any more enterprising. Once or twice the squadron appeared to be getting up steam to make a dash into the open, but whenever the Japanese Grand Fleet appeared a retreat was always ordered. Togo, remembering his experiences with the minefields, kept at a safe distance and warned his capital ships not to approach too close to the land forts. It looked almost as if the Japanese and the Russian Fleets would never have an opportunity of trying conclusions in a fought-out naval engagement.

On March 27 a second attempt was made to block the harbour. Old transports were again used and their crews were selected as before. Togo was determined to succeed, and terminated his operation orders with an exhortation which might have been spoken by Themistocles :

“When we act with determination, even the gods will not resist, and audacity is therefore the safest way to success. I call upon all ranks to fight in concert and, while trusting in the aid of Heaven, carry out their duties regardless of cost.”

But again only one of the blockading vessels succeeded in sinking itself in the actual channel of the harbour.

It was in this action that Commander Hirose, since immortalized as an example for all Japanese naval officers to follow, died gallantly, saving the crew of his blockading ship, and by so doing losing his life, before abandoning it. He was accorded a magnificent funeral in Japan, and the Commander-in-Chief sent an address which was laid before the funeral tablet and again shows how little the West has in common with the East. Many junior officers of the allied forces performed great acts of gallantry during the Great War, but I never heard of an example of any senior officer making a funeral oration or addressing the spirit of the man who was

dead. Admiral Togo's message was, however, regarded as quite normal, and read as follows :

Commander-in-Chief Heihachiro Togo, of the combined squadrons, on behalf of those under his command, respectfully addresses the spirit of the late Commander Takeo Hirose.

While in life you devoted yourself to naval affairs with a spirit of self-sacrifice, you took part twice in the blockading of the enemy's harbour and behaved with the utmost gallantry, losing your life in the last attempt. Dying under such circumstances, you must consider to have ended your life well. Your distinguished service will be an eternal example to all after generations. You may therefore rest in peace.

A strange people the Japanese, and quite unlike any other race ; sentimentalists, but believing implicitly in themselves without there being any false pride in this belief—just a certitude that the Japanese are right.

It came to light, after his death, that Commander Hirose had made a curious request before making his last journey to Port Arthur, which, roughly translated, runs as follows :

If I return alive from this blockade I have a petition to make.

For several years I studied Russian in Russia, so that I regard Russia as my second fatherland. Although we must not confuse public with personal feelings in matters of this kind, I feel that I must repay what I owe Russia. If, therefore, I am not killed, I wish to be permitted to go alone in a junk to Port Arthur. There I shall see Admiral Alexieff and, after explaining to him the hopelessness of his situation, persuade him to surrender.

In this way I shall be at the same time serving my country and repaying my debt to Russia.

It seems incredible, even more incredible than the letter of Admiral Ito to Admiral Ting at Wei Hai Wei. Moreover, Japanese to whom I have commented on this request by junior officers of the Navy to dabble in "statecraft" have assured me that they did not regard it as in any way abnormal, and saw no reason why, in the event of Commander Hirose having survived, he should not have been permitted to carry out his wish.

When Togo ascertained that the blockade had again been only partially successful, he retired with the whole of his Fleet to the north-west coast of Korea in order to formulate plans for future operations. He was in no way discouraged, and understood that he must persevere until he had destroyed or bottled up the Russian Fleet.

This time good fortune was going to favour the Japanese.

Togo had noticed that when the Russians made a show of coming out of Port Arthur, with the idea of luring the Japanese into the range of the guns of the forts and the area of the minefields, they manœuvred for a while not far from the shore. With a view, therefore, of catching the Russians in their own trap, Togo dispatched, on April 11, three torpedo flotillas with some mine-layers to Port Arthur. While the destroyers held the attention of the enemy, the *Kongo Maru* dropped mines in the area where the Russians were accustomed to carry out the manœuvres referred to above. This task was accomplished by the early morning of April 12, when an enemy destroyer ventured to within 1200 metres of the Japanese flotilla, which at once set upon her and soon had her in a sinking condition. Boats were being lowered to rescue the Russian crew when it was seen that the cruiser *Bayan* had emerged from the harbour and was bearing down on the Japanese torpedo-boats. The Third Division, which had been watching

the mine-laying operations, immediately moved to support their comrades, and opened a concentrated fire on the *Bayan* at a range of 8000 metres. The *Bayan*, unable to retaliate, retreated towards the forts, but just as the Japanese were about to retire, Admiral Dewa saw, to his surprise, the Russian flagship *Petropavlovsk*, flying Admiral Makaroff's flag, emerging from the harbour followed by two battleships, three cruisers and a flotilla of destroyers. There was no question this time of a show of coming out. The Russian admiral, evidently hoping to catch this Japanese division at a disadvantage, was going to fight, and within a few minutes of emerging from the harbour opened fire.

Admiral Dewa returned the fire, but gradually retreated, drawing the Russians after him while they rained shells on to his flagship. Dewa however, was, oblivious to the risk he incurred of being sunk provided he could bring the Russians to within striking distance of the Grand Fleet.

The running fight went on for fifteen miles, when suddenly out of the mist the Russians saw, to their consternation, great grey shapes looming up, as the *Mikasa*, followed by the *Akashi*, the *Fuji*, the *Yashima*, the *Shikishima*, the *Hatsuse*, the *Kasagi*, and the *Yoshino* steamed line-ahead at the Russian Squadron. It looked as if the two famous admirals were at last to try conclusions in battle.

Makaroff, realizing that the odds were too great against him, signalled to his squadron to make for port as fast as possible. The Japanese Fleet increased its speed ; but the Russians had too great a start. A look of disappointment spread over Togo's face as he stood staring out to sea from the bridge of the *Mikasa*, and then suddenly changed to one of excited anticipation as he saw the Russian Squadron alter its course and instead of making for the entrance of the harbour turn in the

direction of that part of the sea where mines had been laid on April 11.

The Japanese Fleet steered as close as possible to the shore, while every man on deck stood watching breathlessly for a disaster which was now almost certain to befall the Russians. Togo, motionless, had his binoculars fixed on the flagship. His whole body was tense with excitement. It was like watching a mouse drawing nearer and nearer to a cat about to pounce out of the darkness.

Suddenly a column of water shot up at the bows of the *Petropavlovsk*, followed by a terrific explosion. A great cloud of black smoke enveloped the vessel, and when it cleared away there remained nothing on the sea to mark the place where the flagship had been except a few men struggling in the water. These soon disappeared, and the waves rippled calmly over the place where Admiral Makaroff, on whom rested the hopes of the Russian Empire, had, with six hundred and fifty officers and men, gone to his death without even the satisfaction or the honour of dying in battle.

The Japanese watched in silence, some of the men took off their caps, and then, slowly turning, the Grand Fleet sailed away.

Shortly after this occurrence, members of the staff of the flagship suggested to the Commander-in-Chief that a message of condolence should be sent to the Russian Squadron in Port Arthur. But Togo merely looked up and answered: "No."

When asked by his Chief of Staff, some time later, why he had refused to do this, he paused and then said:

"Well, the mine-laying was carried out in the hope that we should succeed in sinking a Russian capital ship, and, having succeeded beyond expectation, it would be merely insincere to offer condolences in a simulated spirit of chivalry."

CHAPTER XVI

PORT ARTHUR INVESTED BY LAND AS WELL AS BY SEA

TOGO, realizing the tremendous moral effect which the death of Makaroff and the loss of the flagship would have on the Russians, determined to give them no respite, and within two days of the sinking of the *Petropavlovsk* sent the First Division to attack Port Arthur.

The Russians, however, seemed to have lost the little spirit which they had, for in spite of the destroyers cruising about all night outside the harbour and taking pot shots at the ships inside, and in spite of an indirect-fire bombardment by the battleships of the First Division, there was no retaliation, not even from the forts.

But although the personnel of the Japanese Navy was in the highest spirits, Togo was not satisfied. He understood that this disaster to the man on whom the Russian High Command had so much counted would certainly have a violent repercussion throughout Russia. There were already rumours of the fitting out of a Russian Fleet in Europe, and although the Pacific Squadron had been badly shaken, it was to all intents and purposes intact, and with a little luck could inflict serious damage to the Japanese Squadrons.

For the moment, however, Togo had to turn his attention elsewhere and co-operate with the land forces which were to invest Port Arthur.

While the naval operations described in the pre-

ceding chapter had been taking place, the Japanese First Army had moved through Korea and had reached the left bank of the Yalu River. Here it had to pause and wait for reinforcements.

A Second Army had been formed in Japan and was ready to embark for Korea and the Liaotung Peninsula, where part of it would support the First Army in the crossing of the Yalu River, while the rest co-operated with the fleet in the blockade of Port Arthur. Togo had therefore to employ his squadrons during the next fortnight in convoying the Japanese transports, in keeping a watch on the enemy at Vladivostock, who might make a bold attempt to intercept the transfer of troops from Japan, in guarding the entrance of Port Arthur, in co-operating with the troops on the Yalu River, and in covering the actual landing operations in the Liaotung Peninsula.

The Fleet was thus scattered, and Togo had to wait patiently for the time when he could again strike at the enemy's vital spot at Port Arthur.

As if to encourage the Commander-in-Chief, an Imperial messenger arrived on board the *Mikasa* about this time with a congratulatory message from the Mikado and the present of a sword made by the famous swordsmith Bizen Yoshifusa.

On April 30, Togo heard the news which he had been expecting for so long, but which, nevertheless, did not please him, and increased his impatience to be after the Russian Squadron again.

The Russian General Staff, at last appreciating the gravity of the situation in the Far East, had formed a huge fleet at Libau, naming it the Second Pacific Squadron, and had placed Admiral Rozhdestvensky in command. No indications were given as to the probable date of its dispatch to the Far East, but the existence of such a force made it imperative that all other Russian Squadrons must be destroyed at once.

Togo accordingly gave immediate orders for a third attempt to blockade Port Arthur, and on the night of May 2, eleven especially designed ships, escorted by destroyers, set out on their perilous mission. Unluckily it was very dark, with a strong wind which, as the night progressed, increased to gale force. The commander of the blockading expedition decided, therefore, to abandon operations for that night, but owing to some misunderstanding only three vessels received the message to retire, and the remaining eight, ignorant of any counter-order, continued on their course.

In spite, however, of this muddle, the third blockade of Port Arthur was almost entirely successful. All the eight ships succeeded in sinking themselves in the harbour mouth, and the passage in and out of the channel would be from now onwards exceedingly dangerous. Unfortunately, the loss of life was very high, only sixty-three Japanese officers and men being picked up by the attendant destroyers. A few men succeeded in swimming ashore, but when, at daylight, the Russians came to take their prisoners, the Japanese attacked them with revolvers and fought until every one of them was killed.

However, with the Russian Fleet more or less immobilized inside Port Arthur, Togo's anxiety was lessened, and he concentrated the energy of his squadrons on the landing operations of the Second Army and in the co-operations in its advance.

Then, as often happens in war, a series of disasters befell the Japanese Navy, and between May 14 and 17 six ships were lost. A torpedo-boat struck a mine and went down with all hands, the cruiser *Yoshino* collided with the *Kasuga* in a storm and went to the bottom. The battle-ships *Hatsuse* and *Yashima* struck mines south-east of Laotieh Shan and sank, while on the same day the *Tatsuta* was wrecked on Kuanglu Island. On May 17, the

special service vessel *Oshima* and the destroyer *Akatsuki* were both sunk.

For the first time since the outbreak of war Togo showed anxiety ; but the people of Japan, appreciating what the Commander-in-Chief must be feeling, showed that their confidence in him was in no way shaken. Bags of letters arrived daily on board the *Mikasa*, written by people of all classes in Japan expressing sympathy and affection for Admiral Togo. One little girl from a provincial middle school wrote on a postcard :

Mr. Togo, please take care of yourself.

On May 18 Togo had another unpleasant surprise on hearing that the *Novik* had appeared outside Port Arthur, which indicated that somehow a sufficiently broad channel had been made to enable a battleship to pass out into the open sea. He therefore redoubled his watch on the fortress and nightly laid mines.

The Second Army had by this time developed its attack on land and had occupied Talienwan. The time was coming when the Port Arthur garrison would find itself hemmed in on all sides. In fact, early in June a Third Army was formed under the command of General Baron Nogi, with the sole object of capturing Port Arthur. From this time onwards the name of Togo and Nogi became associated as the heroes of modern Japan, and their co-operation will always be remembered as one of the greatest in the history of war on land and on sea.

On June 6 an Imperial Order raised the Commander-in-Chief of the combined fleet to the rank of full Admiral.

In the meantime, Vice-Admiral Skrydloff had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Far Eastern Squadron (or rather the First Pacific Squadron, the Second being the newly formed fleet at Libau).

Admiral Skrydloff was, however, prevented from taking over his command as, being at that time in Vladivostock, he did not dare risk a voyage to Port Arthur by sea, and, with the investment of the fortress by General Nogi's army, access by land was impossible. For a while, the Viceroy Admiral Alexieff, took over command of the squadron at Port Arthur, but soon after was recalled to Russia. Rear-Admiral Vitoft, the next senior officer, accordingly became commander-in-chief.

Little is known of Admiral Vitoft, but he appears to have been one of the few Russians who took part in the Russo-Japanese War who had energy and initiative. His first action on assuming command was to set about repairing the damaged ships of his squadron and the dredging of the blocked harbour entrance.

The details of the disasters which had befallen the Japanese Navy during the middle of May did not reach Port Arthur until a month later. As soon, however, as Vitoft was in possession of these facts he decided that this was the best moment to make a determined effort to try conclusions with the enemy. Having, therefore, hoisted his flag on the *Czarevitch* on June 22, 1904, he issued the following order :

The vessels which have been damaged by enemy gunfire have now been completely repaired, and we shall accordingly leave the harbour. Under the protection of the Divine and miraculous Lord of the Sea, Nicolai, you will all of you do your duty and make good the oath which you have sworn to our Emperor by exterminating the enemy, who has lately lost a portion of his fleet by striking our mines.

This order is interesting, as it strikes almost the same note as those issued by Togo. To Englishmen, all these heroics would seem out of place. Our orders in war time are concise and to the point. We are told to do certain

things on a certain day and that is all, but these people of Russia were just as much Oriental as the Japanese, with this great difference, that the Japanese were fighting for a cause which they believed to be right, trusting in the divinity of their Emperor and the competence of their leader. This veneration for their superiors dating from time immemorial did not, nevertheless, prevent their system of government and their way of living being based on democratic principles. In the Japanese Army and Navy anyone, regardless of his class, could rise to whatever rank he was fitted for, and would be treated in the same way by his companions whether he was rich or poor, of high or lowly birth.

The Russians, on the other hand, had little idea of what they were fighting about. They had been brought up to believe that the Czar was their father, but from a material point of view he did not seem to be a very considerate parent. Their rulers were autocrats and the officers in the Army and Navy incompetent and drawn only from the upper classes.

However, Admiral Vitoft had issued his order, and anything was better than sitting cooped up in Port Arthur while long-range guns dropped shells into the harbour all day and busy torpedo-boats made sleep at night impossible.

Accordingly, at 8-30 on the morning of June 23 the Russian Fleet, headed by the *Czarevitch*, emerged into the open sea, and Admiral Dewa, who watched the harbour entrance with the First Division, immediately notified the Commander-in-Chief.

The Grand Fleet lost no time in clearing for action and made at full speed for Port Arthur. It took a fairly long time, however, for the mine-sweepers to clear a passage for the Russian Squadrons, and it was not until three in the afternoon that the first shots were exchanged. Admiral Dewa once more led the Russians on in the

direction of the main Japanese Fleet, which was sighted towards six in the evening. It again looked as if the long-awaited-for action was to take place, but at 7-30 p.m., just as the *Mikasa* was drawing into effective range, the whole Russian Squadron turned and fled in the direction of Port Arthur. Togo did his best to keep touch, but darkness was fast falling and he had reluctantly to leave the enemy to be dealt with by his destroyers. The destroyers at once attacked and set about the Russians in such a way that they were thrown into confusion, and, apparently unable to find the passage into the harbour, anchored under the cover of their forts. During the whole of that night the Japanese never left the enemy alone, and continued delivering attacks until the dawn of June 24, when the Russian Fleet steamed into Port Arthur. No Russian battleship was actually sunk, but the *Sevastopol* struck a mine and reached its moorings in a sinking condition, while the other vessels all sustained much damage and had many casualties. The Japanese losses were negligible.

Togo, disappointed but not disheartened, retired to his base, leaving his guard-ships to watch over Port Arthur. He knew now that with the Army closing in on the fortress the Russian Admiral would soon have to make a dash for Vladivostock, or possibly for neutral ports, and he was determined that in this he would not succeed.

All the ranks of the Japanese Fleet shared the feelings of their Commander-in-Chief, and, as if wishing to help in every possible way, vied in deeds of daring to damage the Russians. One night an enterprising sub-lieutenant, accompanied by sixteen ratings, towed a torpedo in a launch to within three miles of the harbour entrance. Here they embarked in a small boat and rowed with their torpedo to within a few hundred yards of the Russian guard-ship at the mouth of the harbour. They then

took off their clothes and, getting into the water, swam with the torpedo between them. Unfortunately, after struggling along for some time, currents hindered them, and they had to give up their attempt to blow up the Russian ship.

The following night they tried again, but once more failed, owing to being spotted by a patrol boat, which fired on them. It was, nevertheless, an action demanding the greatest bravery, and is illustrative of the contrast in spirit of the two Navies.

Unfortunately, a Japanese destroyer and a coast defence ship struck mines during the course of the following week and were lost.

On June 26, the first determined attack on Port Arthur was launched by General Nogi, in which a naval artillery brigade co-operated, while the Fleet fired indirectly into the harbour. The situation was becoming desperate for the Russian battleships, and it soon became known that not only had the *Czarevitch* and the *Retvisan* been badly hit by Japanese shells, but Admiral Vitoft himself been wounded.

Togo therefore decided that it would be only a matter of days before the enemy would be forced to come out and make a dash for it. He therefore tightened the cordon round the doomed fortress and waited within striking distance alert and ready.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BATTLE OF THE YELLOW SEA

TOGO was right in his forecast, and he did not have long to wait to fight the battle for which he had trained himself and his staff for years.

As already pointed out, the indirect firing into the harbour of Port Arthur had done a certain amount of damage to the Russian Squadron, and the senior officers began demanding that a real attempt should be made to get the Fleet away before it was too late.

The General Staff in Russia had also become aware of the precarious situation of their naval forces in the Far East, and on August 8 sent orders to Admiral Vitoft to take the whole of his squadron to Vladivostock. The Admiral, accordingly, hesitated no longer, and gave instructions that all the vessels under his command should coal and be ready to sail at short notice. The order was received with enthusiasm by all ranks of the Russian Squadron, and at dawn on August 10 the Japanese look-out ships saw the imposing spectacle of the *Czarevitch*, flying the flag of the Commander-in-Chief, emerging from Port Arthur followed by the battleships *Retvisan*, *Poltava*, *Peresvyet*, and *Askold*—the last two vessels flying the flags of Rear-Admirals Ukhtomsky and Reitzenstein—the cruisers *Pallada*, *Diana*, *Novik*, and a hospital ship, with the destroyer flotillas and gunboats spreading out on either flank.

At the masthead of the *Czarevitch* a signal fluttered out in the morning breeze :

“By the orders of His Imperial Majesty the Czar, we are sailing for Vladivostock.”

Togo, pacing restlessly up and down the bridge of the *Mikasa*, heard the news with his usual impassiveness. One can almost imagine him muttering :

“Damn those Russians ! I suppose it is going to be the same old story all over again.”

He issued no orders—there were no special orders to issue. The staff knew that when the enemy came out the Fleet must go and find it.

Gradually the great battleships took up their positions, the destroyers glided swiftly away, the Japanese Grand Fleet was once more going into action.

At 12-30 columns of black smoke on the horizon indicated the position of the Russian Squadron. Togo immediately altered his course ; but this time the enemy showed no signs of retreating. Togo smiled, knowing now that he had them as he wanted. At 1-15 the big guns opened fire at long range. The Battle of the Yellow Sea had begun.

The next few minutes were taken up with manœuvring and counter-manœuvring. The Russian Fleet wanted to escape to Vladivostock, and wanted to do so without fighting. The range was now varying from between 6000 to 8000 metres. The shooting on both sides was becoming more and more accurate. A 12-inch shell struck the after shelter deck of the *Mikasa*, killing and wounding twelve men. The *Yashima* and the *Asahi* were also taking heavy punishment. Again the *Mikasa* was hit near the water-line. A 12-inch shell tore away part of her aft funnel and inflicted heavy casualties below deck. But Togo knew what he was doing, and just when it looked as if his ships must be overwhelmed by the tornado of

shells he suddenly turned his squadron into line and bore down on the enemy. This bold manœuvre had the desired effect of throwing the Russians into confusion. The whole of the Japanese fire was being concentrated on the leading vessels of the enemy squadron, some of which were already showing signs of becoming disabled.

The battle raged for two hours, and although the Japanese gunnery was superior to that of the Russian, it could not be said that there were any signs yet of which side would win.

Admiral Dewa, who had come up with the Third Division from Laotieh Shan, was ordered to deal with the enemy cruisers ; but they were too far ahead of him, and too fast for him to get within range, so that all he could do was to pursue them. The afternoon was now drawing into evening, and it looked almost as if the Russians might succeed in their object of getting away. The firing was intense, and although the Russians were now fighting like hunted animals at bay they were giving back as much as they received.

At 6-30, however, a shot from the forward turret of the *Mikasa* decided the battle. A 12-inch shell made a direct hit on the conning-tower of the *Czarevitch*, putting the steering-gear out of control and jamming the helm. The result was that the great ship turned to port and circled back into her own line, and, communication having been interrupted with the engine-room, continued for a few minutes rushing madly round and round in circles, with the effect of throwing the rest of the Russian line into a state of chaos, every ship having to take its own course in order to avoid colliding.

Togo at once hoisted a signal :

"All turn four points to port."

In a few minutes the Russian squadron was sur-

rounded by the Japanese Fleet firing at a range of 3000 metres. The situation now looked hopeless for the Russians, and, although no one knew it at the time, the direct hit from the *Mikasa* had killed Admiral Vitoft and every member of his staff. At first the Russians could not make out what was happening. There were no orders, and the flagship had left the line. A few minutes later, however, a junior officer on the *Czarevitch* was able to run up a signal :

“*Admiral Vitoft has given up command.*”

Rear-Admiral Ukhtomsky on board the *Peresvyet* accordingly placed himself at the head of the squadron, but realizing that it was now out of the question to try an escape to the north ordered the general retreat on Port Arthur. The signal apparently was not understood, for while some vessels followed the flagship, others fled to the south. As it was now almost dark, Togo was obliged to call off his battleships, and ordered the destroyers to go in and finish off the wounded Russians.

But when dawn broke on the morning of August 11 there was not a sign of a Russian vessel in any part of the sea. Togo restlessly paced the bridge of the *Mikasa* anxiously scanning the horizon, imagining that he had let a golden opportunity slip through his hands again ; but although he did not know it until some days afterwards, the reason that he encountered no Russian Fleet that morning was that there was no longer any Russian Fleet to encounter.

The Russian warships, crippled and demoralized, had fled haphazardly in all directions. The *Czarevitch*, with three destroyers, had succeeded in reaching Kiaochou Bay, the *Askold* and another destroyer had taken refuge in Shanghai, while the *Diana* had made for Saigon. All these vessels were disarmed and interned.

The *Novik*, which had succeeded in escaping to the north, was attacked, and sank before she reached Vladivostock, while the *Balni* and a destroyer went aground on the coast of Shantung, where they were afterwards captured.

The rest of the squadron, battered and useless for further action, struggled somehow into Port Arthur.

The Japanese, on the other hand, had lost no ships, and their casualties were only just over two hundred killed and wounded.

The Battle of the Yellow Sea entirely changed the aspect of the war. In fact, it had in many ways more important results than the Battle of the Sea of Japan, in that it relieved Admiral Togo's anxiety of having to encounter a superior enemy force when the Baltic Squadron reached the Far East.

The fighting of the Battle of the Yellow Sea, moreover, was a greater test of Togo's ability as a naval strategist and tactician than the Battle of the Sea of Japan.

When, at the end of May 1905, Togo met Rozhdestvensky in the Straits of Korea, it was like the encounter of two boxers who have fought themselves into the final of a contest, Togo's aim and object being to defeat Rozhdestvensky regardless of punishment to himself. At the Battle of the Yellow Sea he had not only to defeat his enemy, but also avoid having his Fleet seriously damaged. The fact that he succeeded on August 10, 1904, proved him to be the great naval commander that he was, and this engagement must therefore be regarded as his most successful.

On August 14 a further disaster befell the Russians, for, with the evident idea of joining hands with Admiral Vitoft, Admiral Skrydloff came out of Vladivostock with his squadron. Togo, as already explained, had always kept part of his Fleet to keep watch in the Sea of Japan. When, therefore, three warships appeared off

Ulsan in Korea, the Japanese were after them in a moment. The Russians, seeing no signs of their own ships from Port Arthur, turned and fled, but were unable to shake off the enemy. Finally, the *Rurik*, which was much slower than her consorts, was sunk, while the other two ships, practically disabled, just managed to reach the protection of their minefields.

Togo's anxieties were rapidly disappearing, for while maintaining his watch over Port Arthur he felt convinced that he had seen the last of the battleships which dodged his indirect fire in the harbour. He accordingly now concentrated his attention on co-operating with Nogi's army, which was preparing for the big attack on Port Arthur.

The fortress was now completely invested, the outer defences had been occupied by the Japanese, and though the main ring of forts held out, the taking of which would present a formidable task, it would merely be a matter of time before the garrison was obliged to surrender.

Nogi and Togo, accordingly, decided to send a letter, after the approved Oriental fashion, to the governor of the fortress, suggesting that it might be a good idea if he capitulated at once and thus avoid much loss of life.

The terms suggested for the surrender were extremely generous, and, in view of what happened later, it is difficult to understand why they were not accepted. All that Nogi and Togo demanded was the surrender of the fortress and the handing over of the ships in the harbour, which, in their battered condition, could be of no use to anyone; while the garrison was to be allowed to march out of Port Arthur with full honours of war and, fully armed, join General Kuropatkin at Mukden.

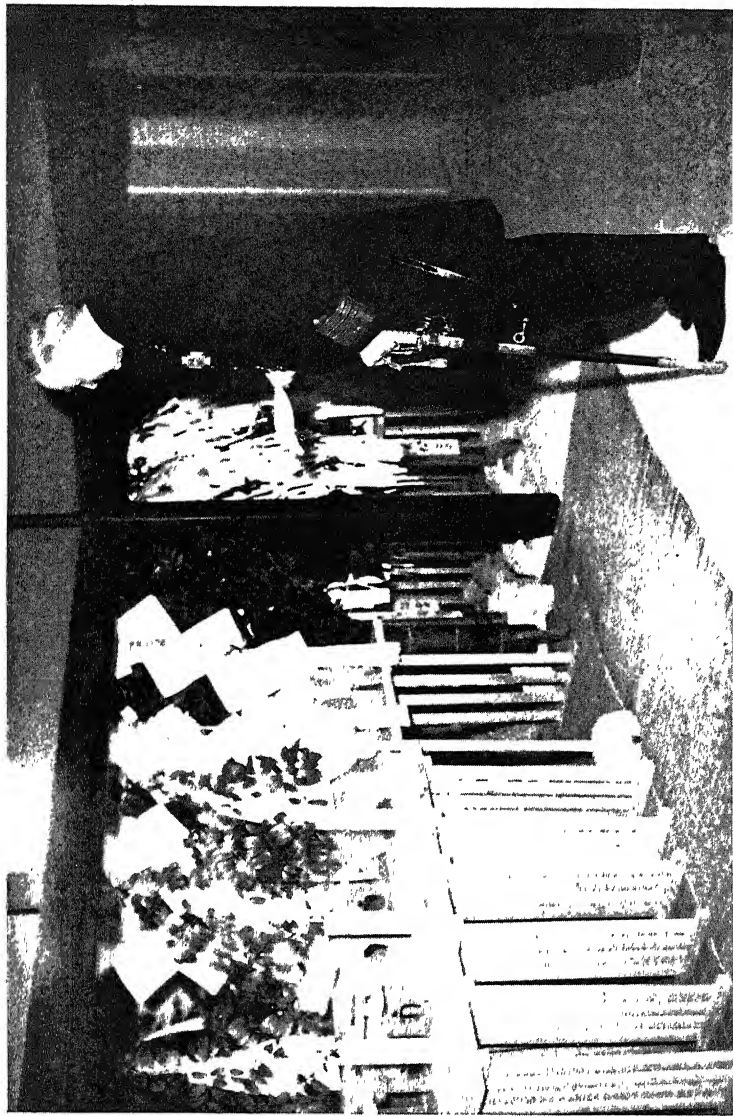
A second document was attached to this proposal

of surrender which suggested that in the event of General Stoessel refusing to give up the fortress, he should allow the women and children, priests and neutrals to leave Port Arthur and take refuge in Dalny, where the Japanese would look after them.

General Stoessel had the reputation of being a silent man, little given to showing emotion, but when he read the two despatches signed by General Nogi and Admiral Togo he flew into an ungovernable rage and stamped angrily up and down the room in which he had received the Japanese emissary. The Japanese waited patiently for a few minutes and was then told curtly that such a proposal by the Japanese commanders was a joke in bad taste and would be ignored accordingly.

The Japanese *parlementaire* then asked if there could be a three days' truce to bury the dead, but this also was refused, and within a few hours of this interview the fighting began again with greater fury than before. In fact, the series of battles which began on August 18 was the bloodiest during the whole of the Russo-Japanese War.

From August 19 to August 24 assault after assault was carried out by brigade after brigade of Japanese troops. Fighting developed into hand-to-hand encounters with the bayonet among heaps of bodies piled about the ramparts of the forts. In fact, on one occasion the Japanese resorted to the old-time methods of fighting, and, armed with great Samurai broad-swords, fell upon the Russians in their trenches, who, for a while, were too taken aback to retaliate. It must indeed have been a terrifying spectacle to see these warriors of mediæval Japan, wearing nothing but loincloths, charging down the trenches while they yelled their ancient war cries and mowed down the soldiers of the Czar with long sweeps of their gleaming two-handed swords. But although some of the isolated posts were



ADMIRAL SIR FREDERICK DREYER, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH CHINA FLEET, BEFORE
TOGO'S COFFIN

occupied by the Japanese, the sixth day of the fighting found them in the same positions from which they had started, with a casualty list of over ten thousand killed and wounded.

I myself have stood on the bleak summit of those hills about Port Arthur which run precipitously down to the plains below and wondered why Nogi dared to launch such an attack without terrific artillery preparation and how his troops eventually gained their objective.

Togo was very upset on hearing of his colleague's failure, and at once sent him a letter of sympathy, together with some naval guns of large calibre and a big reserve of ammunition. He also detached part of his medical personnel to help cope with the tending of the wounded, which were in such great numbers that the Army doctors could no longer deal with them.

He further informed the General that the *Sevastopol* had struck a mine outside the harbour, but had just managed to return to her anchorage, so that he hoped that indirect fire might be brought to bear on her to stop her from being repaired. He added a friendly postscript at the end of his letter asking if he could do anything else to help him.

Nogi replied at once thanking him for his kindness and explained that, in spite of his reverses, he hoped with the aid of naval guns to reduce the fortress in three weeks or so.

He suggested, therefore, that, as the Fleet had little to do now, it might be a good idea to send battleships in relays to Japan for refitting and repairing.

There is a charming cordiality in the attitude of these two men towards each other. One sees none of the rivalry between the Army and Navy—just two Japanese gentlemen who, being personal friends in private life, behaved towards each other in a true spirit of comradeship.

Togo thought over Nogi's advice and acted on it, for coincidentally with the assaults on Port Arthur definite details of the constitution of the Baltic Fleet reached Japan. A force of over forty vessels was almost ready to sail from Libau for the Far East, and actually did so on October 15. This news was communicated by Togo to Nogi, who at once determined to press his attack, and, concentrating every available man, launched them against the "203 Metre Hill" which was the key to the whole position. Although the main objective was not reached at once, two forts were occupied, from which the harbour could be seen. The fate of the remnants of the Pacific Squadron was now sealed.

From September 25, 15-centimetre guns hurled shells on the Russian battleships, which dodged about the harbour trying in vain to find cover.

In spite of these advantages, however, the garrison of Port Arthur was not yet by any means ready to surrender. Attack after attack was hurled against the main positions ; but in spite of heroic fighting the end of the day always saw the Japanese battalions, reduced by half, straggling back to their lines.

Togo became anxious again. It was now autumn, and he knew that the Baltic Fleet was on its way east. It was essential, therefore, that Port Arthur be captured before the arrival of Admiral Rozhdestvensky, for as long as the fortress held out it would form an objective for the Russian naval forces and become their base, whence they could employ the same tactics as their predecessors. His own ships were rapidly being repaired, and he sent urgent appeals to Nogi to leave nothing undone which might cause Port Arthur to surrender.

But still the Russians held out, and it was not until December 6 that the "203 Metre Hill", known also as Erhling Shan, fell into Japanese hands and direct fire

could be employed on the inner defences and on the vessels which had escaped the indirect fire from the naval guns. After this, things moved quickly. By the 7th the Port Arthur squadron had disappeared from the surface of the sea, for although the *Sevastopol* succeeded in getting clear of the harbour, she was set upon by destroyers, and after a gallant fight lasting several hours she was sunk on December 15.

Admiral Togo immediately landed and went to call on General Nogi in order to personally congratulate him on his victory. The meeting was cordial but silent. The two grey-haired warriors bowed and shook hands while the staff officers stood around without speaking. Neither Togo or Nogi had any comments to make. They had both achieved their objects, and that was all that mattered.

On December 30 Togo returned to Japan to confer with the Naval General Staff and to make his report to the Emperor.

CHAPTER XVIII

TOGO PREPARES TO MEET THE BALTIC FLEET

THE actual surrender of Port Arthur took place on New Year's Day 1905, and once more illustrated the difference in spirit which animated the Japanese and the Russians.

General Stoessel had refused with scorn the first Japanese proposals for surrender, which were extremely generous, and then, five months later, accepted terms as though he were an utterly defeated General. It was naturally supposed that he did this because he was at the end of his resources, but when the Japanese entered Port Arthur they found, to their surprise, that this was not the case. There were ample provisions in the fortress, very little material damage had been done to the town, and there were sufficient troops and ammunition to carry on a protracted defence. General Stoessel knew, moreover, that the Baltic Fleet was on its way to the Far East, and that by surrendering Port Arthur he was depriving Admiral Rozhdestvensky of a base, as well as freeing the hands of Togo at sea and Nogi on land.

The truth of the matter was that the Russian soldiers had had enough. They lacked the morale which animated the Japanese, and, weary of fighting for an unknown cause, did not mind what happened. Like animals they obeyed commands until their spirit was

broken, and then like animals lay down and refused to move.

This brutish mentality of the Russians was painfully illustrated when the officers and men of the Port Arthur garrison were being removed to Dalny. Trains had been placed at their disposal, with a special carriage for the Commander-in-Chief and Madame Stoessel and the General Staff. The troops were lined up on the platform, and as the General reached his carriage he turned to a group of men who stood near by and offered his hand. The soldiers stared at the outstretched hand stupidly, but not one of them moved. They did not understand this friendly gesture, associating officers' hands with blows and their General as someone who regarded them as beasts of burden. What a contrast to the friendly, comradely relationship between Togo and Nogi and their men !

General Stoessel gave a scornful look at the soldiers and, entering the train, gave the signal to the troops to do likewise. A scene then followed which impressed the Japanese present more than anything else that they had witnessed during the war.

The greater part of the train was made up of trucks and third-class carriages, but the Japanese had set aside some better compartments for the women of the garrison. To the astonishment, however, of the Japanese guards the Russian officers, pushing past the women, climbed into the decent carriages, and the rank and file, taking their cue from their superiors, swarmed into the rest of the train, abandoning the women-folk on the platform, and, if the Japanese had not intervened, would have left them behind.

Orientalism is supposed to be callous about their females, but this is not really the case as it concerns their physical attitude towards them, and quite untrue about the Japanese. A Japanese considers that a woman's

place is at home and that she should not interfere with matters outside it, but in her house it is the woman who rules and she must be treated with every consideration.

The actual making over of Port Arthur by the Russians was very cordial and had little association with ignominious surrenders. General Stoessel, mounted on a thoroughbred Arab charger and followed by a smart escort of Cossacks, met General Nogi and his Staff in a small building called Plum Tree Cottage. General Nogi complimented General Stoessel on his heroic defence and General Stoessel condoled with him on the death of General Nogi's two sons outside Port Arthur. Wine was drunk and the parties separated on the best of terms.

As pointed out, this capitulation was of the highest importance in shaping the outcome of the war, as it freed the Japanese Armies to concentrate against the Russians in Manchuria and permitted the Fleet to prepare for the Russian Squadrons which were slowly approaching from the east.

The Japanese losses on sea had been comparatively small. Two battleships, one cruiser, two torpedo-destroyers and six gunboats had been sunk. The casualties among the officers and men, including the deliberate loss of lives in the blockading operations, had also been small. The Russians, on the other hand, had lost, in one way or another, practically every ship they had afloat in the Pacific at the beginning of 1904. Togo had achieved something which even the most optimistic had thought was impossible.

On receiving his instructions to return to Japan, the Commander-in-Chief sent every ship that he could spare to be overhauled and, placing Admiral Kataoka in command of a flying squadron to watch the Straits of Korea and neighbouring seas, proceeded to Kure naval base, whence he immediately took the train for the capital.

The whole of Tokyo was waiting to see the man who

had become the national hero of Japan, and when the Commander-in-Chief appeared at the entrance to Shimbashi station a cheer went up which shook the houses all around. But Togo's expression never changed.

He looked down at the sea of faces below him and, saluting, entered the waiting carriage, which took him at once to the Imperial Palace.

The Mikado himself received Admiral Togo and congratulated him on the successful termination of the initial operations of the war, but reminded him that he still had a difficult task before him. Togo paused for a moment before replying, and then said :

"I am deeply impressed by your Majesty's graciousness. We *will* defeat the enemy."

The audience was over. He was then allowed to return to his home, where he found his wife and children waiting for him at the door of the house, and after the interminable bows which feature all Japanese greetings, however intimate, he removed his shoes and went indoors. As soon as he was inside he laid aside his uniform, took his bath, and put on a kimono. Admiral Togo had become for a few hours plain Heihachiro Togo San. During the remainder of the evening he sat in his study listening to the news of all that had been happening at home during his long absence. He hardly spoke himself, and did not once refer to the war.

The next day he paid a call on the wife of his friend and colleague General Nogi. Saké was produced, the Admiral's health was drunk, and news of the absent husband asked and given. Before leaving, Togo took his hostess' hands in his and spoke a few words of sympathy about the death of her two sons before Port Arthur. But the great Japanese lady only smiled and replied that, her sons having died honourably in the service of their country, she could only have feelings of pride on their account.

As soon as Admiral Togo had finished his short holiday he settled down with the members of the General Staff to discuss the plans of action for meeting the Baltic Squadron.

The Russian Fleet, as before stated, had left Libau on October 15, and early in November reached Tangier, where the Commander-in-Chief divided it into two sections, sending the vessels of light draught via the Suez Canal and taking the bigger ships with him round the Cape. On January 9, 1905, the two sections of the Fleet met again at Nossi Bé, off Madagascar. Here they waited for other units of the Squadron which had been delayed in starting.

The Japanese General Staff had come to the conclusion that there were three courses open to the enemy on nearing the coast of Japan. The first to make direct for Vladivostock via the Straits of Korea, where they could refit after the long voyage and use this port as their base. The second was to establish themselves in Formosa and conduct their operations from there. The third was to pass along the eastern coast of Japan and reach Vladivostock from the north. Togo felt that this third alternative was not likely to be adopted, and, while admitting that there were possibilities in the second, felt convinced that the Russians would make for the Sea of Japan. It was accordingly decided that the units of the Japanese Fleet should rendezvous, as they refitted, in the vicinity of the Straits of Korea.

Before leaving the capital to join the Grand Fleet there were several public festivities which Togo was forced to attend. But although he showed good grace about making speeches and planting commemorative trees, he refused to talk about the war or his exploits outside Port Arthur.

On February 6 he left Tokyo and went to Kure, where he boarded the *Mikasa*, and on February 21

reached Chin Hai Bay on the south coast of Korea, where the whole of the Grand Fleet was concentrated. He at once detached Admiral Dewa, with three vessels, to keep watch over the southern part of the China Sea, and sent cruisers to protect the landing of troops, which were still being poured into Northern Korea. By the time all these dispositions had been taken it was March, the days were lengthening out, and with eager anticipation the Japanese Navy waited for news of the approaching Russian armada. Togo was in the best of spirits. He knew that every officer and man on board his ships were trained veterans who had had the most varied kind of experiences in naval warfare. He was confident of the spirit of all those under him, knowing that they trusted him and could be counted on under any circumstances. He was satisfied that the vessels were all in a first-class fighting condition and could probably out-sail and out-shoot any units of the enemy. He was further convinced that the morale of the Russians was low and the state of the Baltic Fleet poor after a journey of 14,000 miles without a chance to refit. But, above all, he was entirely confident of himself.

Various naval officers afloat and on shore had cast doubt on the wisdom of concentrating the whole of the Grand Fleet in the Sea of Japan, as if the Russians decided to make for Vladivostock from the north it would be impossible to intercept them. But Togo had not studied this question lightly. He knew exactly what he wanted to do, and, regarding himself as solely responsible, would not allow anyone to change his mind. Surrounded by his grey ironclads, protected by his swift destroyers, he waited to meet and destroy all that was left of the Russian Imperial Navy.

In the meantime, Admiral Rozhdestvensky had left Nossi Bé with forty-five vessels, and on April 8 passed through the Malacca Straits. The news was

reported to Admiral Togo on the following day, and he at once sent Vice-Admiral Kamimura with the Second Squadron to make sure that the ships in Vladivostock could not get out and warn the Russian Grand Fleet of the whereabouts of the Japanese.

The Russians had, however, paused in Indo-China to permit a reinforcement of battleships, which had been dispatched from Russia on February 15 to join them. The arrival of the extra ships greatly raised the spirits of the Russians, as it made their Fleet much superior in numbers and tonnage to the Japanese. Admiral Rozhdestvensky was, nevertheless, disinclined to allow his men to suppose that they would find the defeating of the Japanese an easy task, and before setting out on the last stage of his long cruise issued the following order :

By combining with the squadron led by Rear-Admiral Niebogatoff, our squadron is not only equal in strength to the enemy's, but we are superior in number of battleships. The Japanese, however, have had more experience of war than we, and are more skilled in warfare and gunnery. You must not forget this. Though they may fire with greater rapidity than we, we must not imitate them and waste ammunition.

The Japanese are of unparalleled loyalty to their Imperial Family and state. They are a nation who hate dishonour and think nothing of sacrificing their lives in the cause of heroism. But we have made an oath to the Lord of Heaven, and God has already given us such boundless protection in bringing us so far in safety that we shall wipe away with our blood the shame which has so far been brought to our fatherland.

On May 18 news reached Togo that Rozhdestvensky with fifty vessels had left Van Fong harbour and was making for Japan. Rumours again began to fly as to what course the Russians would take, but nothing would shake

the certitude in the mind of Admiral Togo that the enemy would pass through the Straits of Korea.

The moment of the great battle was approaching, and Togo issued his famous order of the day, which is interesting in that it is entirely lacking in the usual heroics and is a bare statement of facts. The following is a free translation :

The combined squadrons are at last to meet the enemy. We have developed a high fighting efficiency, and now that we are to defeat the enemy there is little more that I can say to you. But in order that in this final battle there may be no misunderstanding I wish to give you a few final instructions.

In a battle the most important thing is caution. We must not fear a formidable enemy or make light of a weak one, and we must not be taken by surprise. It has often happened in the past that there have been matters for regret after a battle, which have been due to our having a weak point of which the enemy has been able to take advantage.

Morale in a battle has a serious effect upon its outcome. Those who have little experience of actual fighting are apt to feel that the enemy is strong and we are weak ; this is because while we cannot see the damage done to the enemy's vessels, the damage to ours is always before our eyes. Some, when they see an enemy vessel trying to cut its way through our line, believe that it is attacking us, and others, when they see a ship out of control and firing at random, think that it is concentrating on us. It also happens in the midst of a battle when the issue is actually in our favour that we may think we are on the losing side ; but, whatever we think, we must always bear in mind that what is happening to one ship will not necessarily influence the action as a whole.

When we are fighting we must not think of defending ourselves. Attack is the best form of defence. For instance, if an unarmoured vessel was able to silence the enemy's fire by better gunnery it would be the same as if she had been armoured. Even

if we have less guns than the enemy, we to all intents and purposes increase their number if we fire them quickly and accurately. In the Battle of the Yellow Sea we fired at the rate of three shots to the enemy's one, so that one of our guns was equal to three of theirs.

The most important point in battle is to do to the enemy what we would not wish him to do to us, and, furthermore, to prevent him from doing this himself. We must always forestall the enemy and do everything we can to embarrass his manœuvring.

This was the last order issued before the encounter with the Russians. But although Togo spoke with such confidence, those last days of May were for him a period of terrific suspense, and it was not until dawn on the 27th that he knew he had been right in his calculations. The Japanese patrol ships had sighted the Russian Grand Fleet making for the Straits of Korea. . . .

It has here been thought opportune to give the detailed list of the composition of the Russian Baltic Fleet which opposed the Japanese Grand Fleet on May 27, 1905.

THE RUSSIAN BALTIC FLEET

Commander-in-Chief Admiral Sinowi Petrowich Rozhdestvensky

FIRST BATTLESHIP DIVISION

(Under the direct command of Admiral Rozhdestvensky.)

NAME	TONS DISPLACEMENT					
<i>Kniaz Suvaroff</i>	13,516
<i>Imperator Alexander III</i>	13,516
<i>Borodino</i>	13,516
<i>Orel</i>	13,516

SECOND BATTLESHIP DIVISION

(Commanded by Rear-Admiral von Fölkersahm.)

<i>Ossliabya</i> .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	12,674
<i>Sisoi Veliky</i> .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	10,400
<i>Navarin</i> .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	10,206
<i>Admiral Nackimoff</i> .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	8,524

TOGO PREPARES TO MEET THE BALTIC FLEET 197

THIRD BATTLESHIP DIVISION (Commanded by Rear-Admiral Niebogatoff.)

NAME							TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Imperator Nikolai I</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,594
<i>General-Admiral Apraxin</i>		..	..	..	..	..	4,126
<i>Admiral Seniavine</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,960
<i>Admiral Oushakoff</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,126

THE FIRST CRUISER DIVISION (Commanded by Rear-Admiral Enquist.)

<i>Oleg</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,645
<i>Aurora</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,731
<i>Dmitri Donskoi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,200
<i>Vladimir Monomakh</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,593

SECOND CRUISER DIVISION (Commanded by Rear-Admiral Enquist.)

<i>Svetlana</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,727
<i>Almaz</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,258
<i>Femchug</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,103
<i>Izumrud</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,103

SPECIAL-SERVICE DIVISION (Commanded by Captain Radloff.)

<i>Kamchatka</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,207
<i>Anastney</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	12,000
<i>Itlis</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,505
<i>Koreya</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	6,163
<i>Rus</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	Unknown
<i>Svesi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	Unknown

FIRST DESTROYER FLOTILLA

<i>Biedvi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Buistri</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Buini</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Bravi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350

SECOND DESTROYER FLOTILLA

<i>Bodri</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Blestyashchi</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	300
<i>Bezuprechniz Z</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Gromki</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350
<i>Grozni</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	350

HOSPITAL SHIPS

NAME							TONS DISPLACEMENT
<i>Orel</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,074
<i>Kostroma</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,507

The main armament of these Russian ships consisted of 26 12-inch guns, 7 10-inch, 12 9-inch, 13 8-inch, and 141 6-inch.

The Japanese vessels were less heavily armed, having 16 12-inch guns, 1 10-inch, 30 8-inch, and 160 6-inch. This inferiority was, however, balanced by the speed and seaworthiness of the ships and the high efficiency of the gun crews, who had months of practical experience behind them.

Admiral Rozhdestvensky had, moreover, a serious handicap imposed on him at the outset of the Battle of the Sea of Japan by having to keep all his ships together. That is to say, he moved at the pace of his slowest supply transports, which was not more than twelve knots, whereas Admiral Togo's squadrons of battleships and armoured cruisers manœuvred easily at from fourteen to sixteen knots.

This difference of two to four knots or so does not at first sight seem very great ; but if one imagines one fleet motionless and the other moving at three knots it is evident that the swifter ships can place themselves in relation to the other fleet as they please and choose whatever range suits them.

Togo took every advantage of this superiority in speed and, as will be seen, was able to deal with ship after ship of the Russian Squadrons as if he had been at target practice. However, apart from this material advantage and the genius of their Commander-in-Chief, what helped the Japanese most in the Battle of the Sea of Japan was the knowledge that up to date they had proved themselves superior to the Russians in every action they had fought.

CHAPTER XIX

THE BATTLE OF THE SEA OF JAPAN

THE first time that the Japanese were menaced by an enemy from the outside was in the eleventh century, when a tribe of Manchu pirates, called the Tois, landed on the island of Tsushima in the Straits of Korea and massacred all the inhabitants before raiding the coast of Japan.

The second time that the Japanese found themselves in danger of invasion was in the thirteenth century, when Kublai Khan's armada, on its way to the main islands of Japan, stopped at Tsushima and killed all the inhabitants.

The third time that a foreign people appeared once more to try conclusions with the Japanese it was again near the island of Tsushima, when on the morning of May 27, 1905, the Imperial Russian Fleet hove in sight.

The Russian ships were actually observed for the first time shortly after 4 a.m., following a north-easterly course somewhere in the vicinity of the Goto Islands. The information was at once wirelessly to the Third Squadron, which lay at Tsushima, and the message passed on immediately to the Main Fleet. It was five o'clock in the morning, with a heavy sea running, when a staff-officer brought the news into the cabin of the Commander-in-Chief.

For the first time since the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War Togo laughed.

He at once called for his secretary and dictated a telegram to Imperial Headquarters :

Having received warning that the enemy Fleet is in sight, the combined squadrons will go out to meet and defeat it. We have fine weather, although the sea is rough.

Here again there is this magnificent self-confidence which is the keynote of Togo's character all through his life. No details are given in this momentous telegram about what is happening, except a short comment on the weather.

As soon as this message had been dispatched the Commander-in-Chief gave orders to his squadrons to move immediately according to prearranged plans, and at 6 a.m. the whole of the Grand Fleet weighed anchor and made for the open sea.

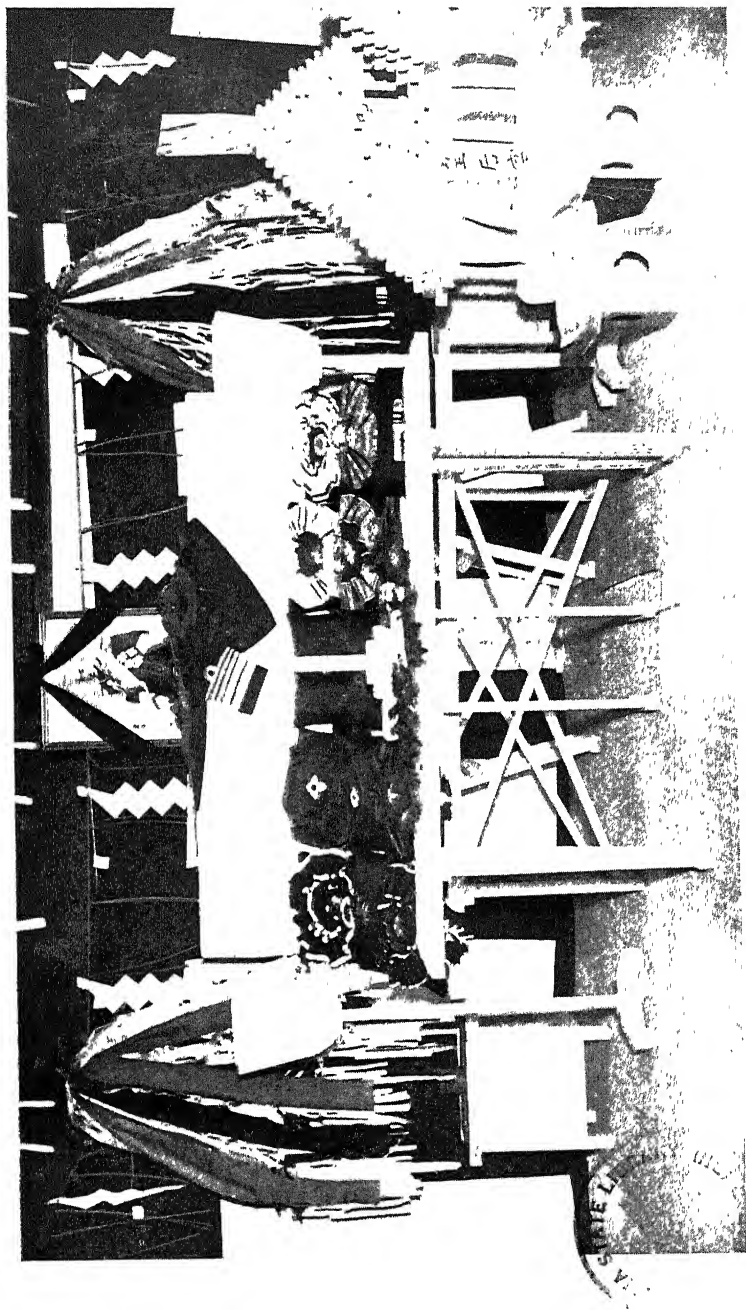
There was an atmosphere of elation on board the ships combined with perfect calm. The plan of action had been rehearsed again and again, so that every man knew what to do.

On some of the vessels the sailors chanted Japanese war songs of days gone by about legendary heroes and famous Samurai. Others made certain that their guns were in absolute working order ; some even slept, knowing that they would have to rely on their strength for hours to come.

On the bridge of the *Mikasa*, Admiral Togo, wearing the sword of Ichimonji Yoshifusa, surrounded by his staff, stared out to sea.

The greatest day of his life had come.

As soon as the Fleet was out of shelter of land the Commander-in-Chief realized that the sea was much rougher than he had anticipated. There was a high wind and bad visibility, and he accordingly ordered his destroyer flotillas to concentrate for the time being in



TOGO'S COFFIN, TOGETHER WITH SOME OF THE OFFERINGS MADE TO THE SPIRIT OF THE DECEASED

Miura Bay. He then signalled to the rest of the Fleet to follow the *Mikasa*.

At 1-39 p.m. Admiral Rozhdestvensky's flagship, the *Kniaz Suvornoff*, loomed out of the haze, followed by the *Alexander III*, the *Borodino*, and the *Orel*; to the left the *Ossliabya* flying the flag of Rear-Admiral von Fölkersahm, the *Sisoi Veliky*, the *Navarin*, and the *Admiral Nackimoff* could be seen pitching through the waves, and behind this column Rear-Admiral Niebogatoff's flagship, the *Nikolai I*, leading the *Apraxin*, *Seniavine*, and the *Oushakoff*, while away as far as the eye could reach more and more ships were drawing closer every minute.

For some reason, Admiral Rozhdestvensky had anticipated an attack from the east and had accordingly formed his squadrons into two parallel columns "line ahead", with his newest battleships on the right of the column. When, therefore, he sighted the Japanese Fleet coming from the west he sheered off to the east as though to attempt a parallel course. In this manœuvre he was unsuccessful, owing to the danger of exposing the weak section in the rear of his Fleet and also to the fact that in so doing he would mask the fire of his big ships. Thus, before a shot had been fired, Rozhdestvensky's mistaken anticipation of an attack from the east, together with the blunder of a double "line ahead" formation, had placed the Russians at a serious disadvantage.

As Togo saw the predicament in which the enemy was placed he smiled for the second time that day and gave the order for the whole Fleet to prepare for action. At the same time the signal which was to become famous all over the world floated out at the masthead of the *Mikasa*;

"*Kokoku no kohai kono issen ni ari. Kakuin isso funrei doryoku seyo.*"

It is impossible to give the real significance of this signal in English, but as nearly as possible it means :

"The fate" (literally, rise—fall) "of our Empire hangs upon this battle. Everyone must exert himself to the utmost."

As the two Fleets were now gradually drawing into range, the Chief of Staff suggested that the Commander-in-Chief should leave the bridge and take his place in the conning-tower. But Togo shook his head.

"I am getting on for sixty, and this old body of mine is no longer worth caring for," he said. "But you are all young men with futures before you, so take care of yourselves and continue living in order to serve your country."

The leading squadrons of the Fleets were now approaching each other so rapidly that it looked almost as if the ships would pass each other, exchanging shots which might or might not take effect. Togo had, however, a bold plan in his mind which he shared only with his Chief of Staff. Hitherto he had always had to remember that not one of his ships must be sacrificed unnecessarily. But now, being face to face with all that remained of the Russian ships, he could afford to be bold. At 2 p.m., when the Russians were at a range of about 8000 metres, Togo turned and looked at the Chief of Staff. For a moment their eyes held each other, then Rear-Admiral Kato asked quickly :

"Shall I starboard the helm, sir?"

"Yes," replied Togo.

At five minutes past two, therefore, the *Mikasa*, followed by the rest of the squadron, suddenly changed her course, and bore down diagonally on the enemy's van, so that the two Fleets formed a "T". The Russians, completely taken aback by this unexpected manœuvre, did not at first take advantage of the temporary

superiority thus given them over their enemy, who now presented such a favourable target. When they did see what was happening it was rather too late. Nevertheless, every available gun was brought to bear on the *Mikasa* and the ships which immediately followed her. Shells rained about the Japanese; but they made no reply, declining a long-range action which would be advantageous to the Russians' heavier guns.

Shorter and shorter became the distance which separated the two Fleets. 7500 metres, 7000 metres, 6500 metres; then only did the signal to open fire ring through the *Mikasa*, which was taken up simultaneously by the *Shikishima*, the *Fuji* and the *Asahi*, and successively by the eight vessels which followed.

The roar of the gunfire was deafening, and it did not take many minutes for the great superiority of the Japanese gunnery to make itself felt. During the preliminaries of the battle the greater speed of the Japanese had given them the mastery of the situation; now it was their shooting. In fact it is estimated that at this period of the engagement the Japanese were scoring three hits to every one of the Russians', and later this ratio was raised to four. Furthermore, while on board the Russian ships there was considerable chaos from the start, with orders and counter-orders, on the Japanese men-of-war there was complete calm.

The *Mikasa* opened fire at eleven minutes past two, and before 2-45 the enemy was showing signs of confusion. By three o'clock the outcome of the battle of the Sea of Japan had been decided.

A Japanese staff-officer, speaking later of the engagement, said:

"The *Mikasa* and her consorts had taken years to design and build, but it only took them thirty minutes to decide the issue of the greatest battle in the history of Japan.

"We officers had studied the art of war for years, but we had only this half-hour in which to show our worth. Nevertheless, if we look at it in another way we can say that the Battle of the Sea of Japan lasted ten years, beginning in 1895 and coming to an end at about three o'clock on the afternoon of May 27, 1905."

The plight of the Russian Fleet was growing worse and worse every minute. The *Ossliabya's* main-mast had been snapped in half, and she was on fire in several places. The *Suvaroff* was also in flames and had been hit below the waterline. (These hits below the armour of the Russian battleships, which did so much damage, were due to their rolling, for instead of ploughing steadily through the waves like the Japanese warships, they heeled over, nearly showing their keels.) The *Alexander III* was on fire too. In fact, so much smoke from the burning Russian vessels covered the sea that the Japanese range-takers had difficulty in seeing their targets.

The commanders of the Russian squadrons, realizing the desperate straits in which they found themselves, tried to change their courses ; but the swifter Japanese ships always forestalled them, and relentlessly poured shells into the great Russian Fleet, which was rapidly losing all semblance of formation and all cohesion in manœuvring and firing.

With the Japanese, on the other hand, there was never a moment when coolness and confidence deserted them, the firing ceasing the moment the target became invisible and continuing when there was something favourable to shoot at. There was no flurry or confusion above or below decks. Naval battles had become a mere matter of routine to these veterans who had never known defeat.

The *Ossliabya*, which had dropped out of the line soon after 2-30, sank at a quarter past three, Admiral von Fölkersahm having been killed in his conning-

tower some time before. The flagship, which had also been practically put out of action at the beginning of the battle, sank, with the *Borodino*, soon after five. Admiral Rozhdestvensky, who had been severely wounded early in the encounter, was rescued with his staff by the destroyer *Buini*, and left the line. Three hours after the beginning of the action which Admiral Rozhdestvensky had come half-way round the world to fight, he was no longer in command of his Fleet, which had almost ceased to exist.

As soon as the flagship disappeared, Rear-Admiral Niebogatoft, on board the *Nikolai I*, signalled that he had taken over command and ordered the squadrons to follow him to the north.

As the evening drew on, the wind dropped and the sea became smoother. Togo therefore called out his destroyers from Miura Bay in order that they should be available to deal with the Russian battleships, which still fought bravely on, but without being of any great menace to the Japanese.

It was now not a question of mere victory, but one of annihilating the whole of the Russian Fleet.

It must not be thought, however, that the Japanese men-of-war had escaped unscathed. The *Mikasa*, especially, had received terrific punishment. At 2-30 p.m. a 12-inch shell had made a direct hit, and the splinters had gone singing about the bridge, smashing the compass beside which Togo stood. During the next half-hour the *Mikasa* was hit thirty-five times, and at 3 p.m. the top of the foremast was carried away, bringing down the Admiral's flag. But another flag was ready, and was hoisted on one of the yards, and the fight went on.

The *Nishino*, flagship of the First Division, had been hit eight times by 12-inch shells ; the *Shikishima* by ten, while the *Asahi* and *Kasuga* had both received their share

of punishment. But in spite of the fact that practically all the Japanese ships had had their upper structures severely damaged none had been disabled.

While Admiral Togo with his ships had been fighting the van of the Russian Fleet, Admirals Uryu and Dewa, with their divisions, had been attacking the enemy rear in the same manner. That is to say, they had sailed diagonally at the hindermost ships of the Russian column, crossing their stern and then out-flanking them and appearing on the starboard. They did not sink as many vessels as their colleagues in the van, but they completely disorganized the line and made it out of the question for the cruisers to come to the assistance of the capital ships. The success of this action was partially due to the daring of the Japanese commanders, but chiefly to the great speed of the ships and the accuracy of the gunnery. Nevertheless, this part of the Japanese Fleet suffered quite considerably. Admiral Uryu's flagship was hit below the waterline and had to fall out for a while to have the damage repaired, and the *Kasagi*, with Admiral Dewa on board, was so badly holed that it was necessary for the Admiral to transfer his flag to the *Chitose*.

However, these minor disasters were nothing compared to those which had befallen the Russians. By the evening of May 27 the Russian Grand Fleet, without a leader and without plans, had become a mob of demoralized ships at the mercy of the Japanese squadrons, which were all under the control of their respective commanders and in direct touch with the Commander-in-Chief.

When dusk began to gather over the Sea of Japan, Togo called off his battleships from the carnage and, ordering them to rendezvous at the island of Ul Long Do, let in his destroyers. As darkness fell the *Borodino*, which had been on fire for nearly an hour, sank. A few minutes

later the *Alexander III* turned turtle and disappeared beneath the sea.

The night of May 27-28 was one of unimaginable horror for the Russians. All day long they had been under that merciless gunfire of ships which it seemed impossible to sink—ships which appeared from the north, hurling tons of steel at their prey as they passed, and before there was time to return the fire appearing again from the east or west, dealing destruction to everything within range. From the front, from the rear, from the flanks, this great Fleet which had come fourteen thousand miles to vindicate the honour of the Czar of all the Russias was hemmed in by moving steel walls belching death every minute.

Now that darkness had fallen, there was a pause, and there seemed just a chance that what remained of the Russian Fleet might escape in safety to Vladivostock. The decks of the ships looked like heaps of scrap-iron. The surviving officers and men were black with powder and worn out, the dying and wounded groaned below decks. Still, there was a chance. But these Russians did not know Togo's destroyer flotillas, trained to the last details of night operations during that long blockade outside Port Arthur.

Admiral Niebogatoft, followed by nine capital ships and a few destroyers, found himself at last out of range of the Japanese battleships, and was steering as fast as he could towards Vladivostock, when out of the darkness forty swiftly moving objects swept down on his crippled squadron. The Russians turned on their search-lights, which only helped the whirring destroyers in their murderous task. The *Navarin* was the first to be hit and go to the bottom. The *Sisoi Veliky*, the *Admiral Nackimoff*, and the *Vladimir Monomakh* were torpedoed in rapid succession and fell out of the line completely out of control. The other ships, confused by trying to avoid

the relentless Japanese destroyers, lost touch with the flagship, and only the *Orel*, the *Seniavine*, the *Apraxin*, and the *Izumrud* succeeded in following Admiral Niebogatoff.

The Japanese, on the other hand, lost only three torpedo-boats, and when at last the destroyers drew off, surfeited with slaughter, the Russian armada had ceased to exist as a fighting force.

CHAPTER XX

EXTERMINATION OF THE BALTIC FLEET

DAWN of May 28, 1905, was one of those clear, still mornings which has given to Korea the name of the "Land of Morning Calm". There was no fog and the sea glittered grey-blue as the light increased. The atmosphere was one of peace and silence ; it seemed incredible to believe that the past twenty hours had seen the violent deaths of thousands of brave men and the destruction of some of the finest ships in the world.

The only evidence that it was not just an ordinary spring morning were the long lines of men-of-war which lay off the island of Ul Long Do. The Japanese Grand Fleet was present in practically its entirety at the rendezvous.

Togo, standing on the bridge of the *Mikasa*, swept the horizon with his glasses, for although to all intents and purposes the enemy was completely defeated, it was not yet destroyed, as Togo had promised to his Emperor. Until, therefore, this promise had been carried out, the Battle of the Sea of Japan, in the mind of the Commander-in-Chief, was not finished.

At 5-30 a.m. the Fifth Division reported the remnants of the Russian squadron, consisting of two battleships, a cruiser, and two coast-defence vessels sailing in a north-easterly direction. The semblance of a smile flitted across the Admiral's face as the message was delivered, and he

gave orders for the Fleet to get under way and prepare for action.

The ships which had been sighted were those which Rear-Admiral Niebogotoff had managed to rally round him after the torpedo attack of the previous night. Owing to the confusion caused by the onslaught and by the Japanese destroyers, the Commander-in-Chief of all that was left of the Russian Grand Fleet had lost his course and had wasted a great deal of time finding his bearings before he could make for Vladivostock. Dawn, however, had shown the Russians an empty sea, and it seemed again as if they might just escape. The Russian officers tried to get some order on the shell-swept decks of their vessels, so that they might appear in Vladivostock looking fairly smart. But they did not even yet know the Japanese, for once more, two hundred miles from the scene of the opening of the battle, the drama of the previous day was to be repeated.

As the sun shot its first golden rays over the calm horizon the Russians caught sight of a few enemy ships, then more enemy ships, and more enemy ships as the daylight increased. The Japanese Grand Fleet was coming at them wrapped in a mantle of golden fire like Amaterasu Omikami, founder of the Japanese race.

The Russians took one look at the glittering Japanese armada and fled ; but only one vessel, the *Izumrud*, succeeded in getting away, and she ran aground shortly afterwards on the coast of Siberia.

In the meantime, the Japanese leading squadron was rapidly drawing level with the Russians, and when the range had fallen to 7800 metres, the *Kasagi*, with the other battleships of the First Division, opened fire. But the Russians had no fight left in them. There was hardly any reply to the Japanese guns, and ten minutes after the opening of this last engagement Admiral Niebogotoff hauled down his flag. For some reason, however, Togo

did not at once order the *Cease fire*, but remained on the bridge of the *Mikasa* calmly watching the shells crashing into the Russian battleships as if he were at gunnery practice, and it was not until his Chief of Staff, unable to bear the sight of this deliberate slaughter any longer, cried out: "But, Admiral, this is not the spirit of bushido!" did the Commander-in-Chief signal to his Fleet to cease fire and surround the Russians.

As soon as the Russian ships were encircled, Togo sent two staff-officers to the *Nikolai I* to fetch Admiral Niebogattoff. Shown into the Admiral's cabin, the Japanese staff-officers told him in French that the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Grand Fleet accepted the surrender of the Russian Fleet, that he would permit the officers to retain their swords, and that he requested the Russian Commander-in-Chief to come on board the *Mikasa* in order to discuss terms.

Admiral Niebogattoff bowed and asked for a few moments to make ready.

His making ready was something which to our English minds was almost theatrical. Retiring to his private cabin, he emerged again on deck in full-dress uniform wearing all his decorations !

He found the crew of the *Nikolai I* mustered aft, and facing them, he addressed them in a voice broken by emotion which he could not conceal :

"In this battle you have shown yourselves to be brave men and worthy of trust, but, alas, we have been defeated. We are all that remains of the great Russian Fleet, and we are surrounded by forty enemy vessels ; even had we tried to make further resistance we should have been sunk in ten minutes. In view of the sacrifice of lives to no purpose which such an action would entail, I decided to surrender. I do not grudge the loss of my life, but yours. The disgrace which you are

passing through is but temporary, and nothing which has happened to-day need prevent you from serving your country again. I take the entire responsibility for the surrender."

Admiral Niebogattoff bowed his head and walked towards the gangway through the silent ranks of his men, many of whom were sobbing. The two Admirals met on the quarter-deck of the *Mikasa* and shook hands. There is no record in the Japanese accounts of the war of what the Japanese officers felt at finding themselves for the first time giving orders to a white race. The only contact which up to date the Japanese had had with Occidentals was in a position of subordination. Up to twenty years before this battle, Europeans and Americans living in Japan had had their own extra-territorial concessions and their own law courts. A European or an American could do what he liked in Japan without reference to the Japanese, yet here was a Russian admiral in full-dress uniform, glittering with decorations which had been instituted centuries ago when Japan was still waging war with bows and arrows, waiting on the pleasure of an Oriental naval officer whose first experience of warfare had been as a mediæval retainer dressed in armour.

Togo, however, had no sentimental feelings about the matter, and, wasting no time in preliminaries, stated the terms of surrender.

The Russian Admiral bowed acquiescence. Glasses were filled and the two Commanders toasted each other.

It is not clearly stated in the Japanese account of the Battle of the Sea of Japan what the Admirals drank, but the word "glasses", which is used in the original Japanese account, suggests foreign wine. This is curious, as the Japanese do not, as a rule, drink wine or spirits except in the company of Occidentals. If, however, the Japanese rice wine (*saké*) had been the beverage, the



(Reading from left to right) MARCHIONESS HYO TOGO (WIFE OF THE ADMIRAL'S ELDEST SON), MOMOKO, KAZUO, AND YOSHIKO, ALL GRANDCHILDREN OF THE ADMIRAL

word "cups" and not "glasses" would have been employed. Is it possible, therefore, that Togo, in anticipation of such a surrender, had taken a case of champagne on board the *Mikasa* before setting out for the Sea of Japan?

When the toasts had been drunk, Admiral Niebogattoff turned to Admiral Togo and asked :

"How did you know that our squadrons would pass through the Straits of Korea instead of by way of La Perouse or Tsugaru Straits, and that we should sail to the east of Tsushima? It seems miraculous!"

For a second Togo looked embarrassed, and then said quickly :

"Oh, I only thought so!"

He then immediately changed the conversation and began talking about the handicaps under which the Russian Fleet had had to meet the Japanese, and praised the way in which the whole squadron had come all the way from Europe without mishap.

The two Commanders-in-Chief then parted, the Russian being escorted to the *Fuji*, where he was assigned the captain's quarters.

Togo appears to have had curious feelings about this first personal contact with the Russians, for it seems that even after Admiral Niebogattoff's surrender he suspected treachery or something of the kind. In fact, he said to one of his staff-officers that he expected the Russian Admiral to show resentment when he was offered wine, but when he saw that there was none he felt reassured and able to take over the surrendered ships without qualm.

This suspicious trait in the Japanese character is something which always baffles the foreigner. The Japanese to-day cannot convince himself that a Westerner has any but ulterior motives for being in Japan. He may be young, he may be old, he may have some definite

occupation which keeps him in the East, but until he has been in the country for some considerable time he will not convince the Japanese authorities that he is harmless. Togo had defeated the Russians, he had forty-odd vessels against the Russians' four, but he still felt that these Russians, being foreigners, might do him a bad turn.

However, once satisfied that all was well, Togo sent men on board the captured vessels, and at 7-30 that night sailed with the prizes, escorted by the First and Second Squadrons, to the naval base, Saseho.

While what has been described was going on, the remainder of the Japanese Fleet was clearing up the sea of all stray Russian vessels which had escaped the tornado of shell-fire on the 27th.

The *Svetlana* was sunk after a two-hour engagement in Chukpyon Bay off Korea. The destroyer *Bodri* was driven on shore, where she broke up. The *Admiral Oushakoff*, although attacked by a superior force, refused to surrender, and when finally battered by enemy gun-fire into a shapeless mass of twisted steel, her commander opened the cocks and sank her. This is one of the rare occasions during this battle when a Russian ship put up a good fight.

By the afternoon of May 28 there was not a sign of the Russian Fleet in any part of the Sea of Japan. Thirty-nine ships had actually passed through the Straits of Korea, and of these only a few old cruisers, destroyers, and special-service steamers escaped destruction or capture.

The actual statistics of the Russian losses were as follows. Battleships : six sunk, three interned in the Philippines, and one escaped to Vladivostock ; four cruisers sunk and one wrecked. Coast-defence ships : one sunk and two captured. Destroyers : six sunk, one captured, and one interned at Shanghai. Auxiliary

cruisers: one sunk. Special-service steamers: four sunk and two interned at Shanghai. Hospital ships: two captured.

The Russian casualties amounted to ten thousand killed and six thousand one hundred prisoners.

Against the Japanese, losses during the two days' fighting amounted to only three torpedo-boats sunk, one hundred and sixteen men killed, and five hundred and eighty wounded.

It seems almost incredible.

The Mikado, on hearing the news of the victory, sent a special message to Togo which ended with :

We are pleased that through your fidelity and gallantry we shall be able to face the Spirits of our ancestors, but as the end of the war is still far off, you will make further efforts to bring it to a successful conclusion.

As soon as Togo reached Saseho harbour he sent his flag-lieutenant to present his condolences to Admiral Rozhdestvensky and ask him if he might call. At first there was some demur on the part of the Russian Admiral's staff on the grounds that his state of health did not permit visits. The Admiral was able, however, to speak a few words to the flag-lieutenant and send a message of thanks to Admiral Togo. When the Japanese envoy was about to leave the ship, numbers of Russians came up to him and asked diffidently what had been the result of the battle. In a few words they were told all, but it was evident that they found it difficult to believe that their great Fleet had been completely annihilated in twenty-four hours.

A few days later Admiral Rozhdestvensky was transferred to a hospital on shore and Admiral Togo was able to make his call.

The two Admirals shook hands, and after a pause Togo said slowly :

“Defeat is a fate which may come to us all, and there is nothing in this to make one ashamed. The only point to take into consideration is whether we have done our duty. You and your men behaved admirably during the two days that the battle lasted. I beg to express to you my respect for you, as well as my regrets. Please get better as soon as possible.”

The Russian Admiral made some appropriate remark in reply, but he was evidently overcome with emotion. This meeting must have presented a strange scene, and it is to be wondered whether there is any other parallel in history of a victorious commander expressing regrets to his opponent for having defeated him in battle.

This can be looked upon as the final curtain on the Battle of the Sea of Japan, the most complete victory on land or sea. Salamis may have been as great a rout, but it was on a comparatively small scale. Trafalgar was a decisive victory, but not the absolute destruction of one Fleet by another. At Jutland, in 1916, there was greater loss of life than in the Sea of Japan in 1905, but neither side admitted defeat. Furthermore, the Battle of the Sea of Japan must be regarded as the culmination of a series of engagements in all of which Togo was victorious.

An armistice was declared soon after this, and although Togo took no part in the peace negotiations, there is no doubt that he felt, more than anyone else, that Japan had obtained less than she deserved.

This is not the place to discuss the fairness or unfairness of the treaty which caused such controversy. But none can sympathize with the feelings of the silent Admiral who for eighteen months had taken the full responsibility of the Japanese operations on sea and had carried them out without ever making a mistake.

CHAPTER XXI

THE MIKADO REVIEWS THE GRAND FLEET

THE first real disaster to the Japanese Fleet occurred five days after the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth which ended the Russo-Japanese War, when the powder magazine of the *Mikasa* exploded as she lay in Saseho harbour, sinking her and killing and wounding five hundred and ninety officers and men. In fact, the casualties which occurred in those few seconds were almost as great as those during the whole of the Battle of the Sea of Japan. By some mercy of Providence Admiral Togo was not on board his flagship, having gone to Tokyo overland to make his report to the Chief of the Naval Staff. The *Mikasa* was not so much damaged as might have been expected, and was later recommissioned. She could not, however, be repaired immediately, so Togo, on his return to Saseho, had to transfer his flag to the *Shikishima*.

On October 18 the solemn pilgrimage was made by Admiral Togo and his staff, as well as by the commanders of the different squadrons and divisions of the Grand Fleet and their staffs, to the Imperial Shrines at Ise.

The Ise Shrines are the centre for the national cult of Shinto, for it is here that the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu, founder of the Imperial House of Japan, is venerated. Ise is in reality the family shrine of the Mikados, Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor of Japan, being the fifth in descent from the Sun Goddess, so that in times of crisis, or at moments of thanksgiving, Ise must be visited.

Admiral Togo, being a religious man, carried out his pilgrimage with all the humility of a true believer. On arrival at the gates of the Shrine the admirals and their staffs, all in full-dress uniform, alighted from their carriages and were led by a Shinto priest to the main shrine. They halted before the entrance, and the Commander-in-Chief, taking a step forward, stood in silence with his hand on the hilt of his sword gazing into the dim recesses of the temple. He then reported to the Imperial Spirits the news of the victory which he had won in the Sea of Japan, thanked them for their Divine protection, and prayed that they would continue watching over him and his ships. When he had finished his prayers, the admirals and other members of the staff communed with the Spirits. As soon as the solemn rites were over, holy wine was served and sacred dances performed, after which the party returned to the naval base and the next day left with the entire Fleet for Yokohama, where it was to be reviewed by the Mikado.

Before the actual review Admiral Togo made his official entry into Tokyo. The capital was thronged with hundreds of thousands of people who had come from all parts of the country to greet the man who had become the greatest hero in the history of Japan. The circumstances were unique in Japanese history, perhaps of any nation, for there is no other record of an admiral being received back by his people immediately after winning a battle like that of the Sea of Japan.

The Japanese love celebrations, they love going to the station to see people off or to welcome them on arrival, so that on this sunny October day there was an atmosphere of a super-holiday. As Togo entered the carriage which the Emperor had sent to fetch him, the cheers which shook the air were like the roar of the guns of the *Mikasa* as she thundered her first salvo on that afternoon of May 27.

The Commander-in-Chief and his admirals were received at the palace by the members of the Imperial Household and the whole of the Japanese Cabinet. Shortly after eleven, the Mikado, in naval uniform, entered the audience hall, followed by Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal.

When the Commander-in-Chief had introduced his admirals to the Imperial Family, he stepped forward and gave an official résumé of the naval operations against the Russians since the outbreak of hostilities. The opening sentence of his statement has something rather splendid in its frankness :

"Since the combined squadrons went to war in February of last year," he began in clear tones, "there has not been a battle on land or on sea in which the Imperial Forces have not been victorious. Now that peace has been declared, we, your Majesty's humble servants, having performed our humble duties, are enabled to return in triumph to Imperial Headquarters. We attribute our successes entirely to your Majesty, and shall always remember this. . . ."

Here followed a detailed account of all that had happened and the speech ended with :

"In short, it was the operations of the combined squadrons which decided the outcome of the war, and I have now the honour to state that our responsibilities for carrying out Imperial commands are over."

The Mikado made a suitable reply, which he ended with friendly words suggestive of a father speaking to his children :

"You must now all take care of yourselves."

With that the audience ended, and, the Emperor having retired, the admirals took some refreshments, after which they returned to Yokohama and joined the Fleet, which was assembled in the Bay.

The concentration of the combined squadrons in

Yokohama Bay was a spectacle such as no Japanese outside the Navy had ever seen. In serried lines, covering an area of fifteen square miles, were assembled 165 vessels, representing a total displacement of over 300,000 tons. The ships were, moreover, not merely men-of-war being paraded as a matter of ceremony. They were evidences of Japan's might at sea ; they were the guardians of the Empire which had just defeated a civilized Western Power, they were veterans familiar to every Japanese, from primary-school children to patriarchs who had lived under the rule of the Shoguns.

There in the front rank were the *Fuji* and the *Asahi*, with the *Chitose*, flying the flag of Admiral Dewa. The marks of the shells which had wounded these vessels during the great battle were still visible. Over there, Admiral Uryu, the victor of the fight at Chemulpo, could be seen pacing the bridge of the *Naniwa*. The Third Squadron, famous for the part which it had taken in the Battle of the Yellow Sea, lay at anchor a little further on and behind the great battleships—those gun-boats and destroyers conjuring up in the minds of the spectators pictures of heroic sacrifice : icy nights outside Port Arthur, the long white beams of the searchlights piercing the blizzard and lighting up these courageous little vessels as they darted about regardless of danger ; dark, smooth nights of vigil off the coast of Korea, watching, watching for the Russian Grand Fleet which took so long to come, until finally unleashed they created havoc among the warships of Admiral Niebogatoff as they turned this way and that trying to shake off the relentless attack.

Every officer and man in that great assembly of ships of war had passed through the hardest ordeals and not been found wanting. They had trusted in themselves, they had trusted in their silent Commander-in-Chief, and to-day they were going to show themselves proudly

to their Emperor, for whom they had fought during all these months.

A proud man must have been Admiral Togo as his eyes travelled over the forest of masts which rose up around him all over the sea for miles.

At 10-15 on the morning of October 23 the Imperial Standard was broken at the masthead of the *Asama*. The Emperor Meiji was about to review his Fleet.

Slowly the *Asama* left her moorings, while the guns of the battleships thundered the Royal salute. Smoke drifted across the calm water, sometimes entirely obscuring the neighbouring battleships, while the seamen manning the decks thought of the last occasion when their guns had barked and the smoke had hidden another Fleet from their anxious eyes.

Beside the Emperor stood his silent Commander-in-Chief, and as the *Asama* passed each warship he gave a brief account of the part she had played during the war. When the review was over the admirals and captains of ships were summoned on board the *Asama* and thanked personally by the Mikado for their services during the past eighteen months. The Commander-in-Chief replied on their behalf, and the Emperor returned to Tokyo.

The next few days were devoted to entertainments for the officers and men of the war Fleet. Tea parties, dinner parties, firework displays succeeded one another, culminating on October 29 with the religious service at the Aoyama Cemetery in memory of those who had fallen in war. An altar had been erected at one end of the graveyard, around which had been laid the eurya branches, which would call up the spirits of the departed, while the offerings for the dead sent by the notables of the land had been placed before the altar. On both sides of the shrine seats were reserved for relatives of those who had perished.

As soon as the ritualist had recited the appointed

prayers, Admiral Togo advanced to the altar and, bowing low, addressed the Spirits of the officers and men who had died with the Grand Fleet.

"Comrades," he said in ringing tones, which, however, did not conceal his emotion, "the clouds of war have now vanished from land and sea, and we are at peace, and we officers and men, who risked our lives with you, return in triumph to Imperial Headquarters. While you still fought with a relentless enemy, regardless of heat or cold, we were not in a position to foretell how the war would end, so that when you fell in battle we envied you the honour conferred on you by a loyal and brave death. The successive attacks on Port Arthur wore the enemy down until, at the battles of the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, we were able to annihilate all those who had been sent against us.

"Although the outcome of the war must be attributed to the fathomless Imperial virtue, it must also be partly attributed to you who sacrificed your lives. Now that it is all over, and we officers and men return joyfully to our homes, our happiness must be tempered with sorrow at the thought that you are not with us to share in these rejoicings. Your loyalty and gallantry will long be an example to everyone in our Navy. By celebrating the service we wish to tell you of all we feel towards you."

And then, raising his voice, the Admiral cried :

"Spirits of the dead, gather about us and hear us !"

A complete hush had fallen all over the cemetery ; the birds had ceased to twitter as Togo made this final exhortation. A breeze rustled through the autumn leaves of the trees as if the hosts of seamen, hearing the voice of their beloved Commander-in-Chief, had risen from the sandbanks and the ooze at the bottom of the sea, and from the rocks and the reefs outside Port Arthur to muster for this last parade. Those present at the

ceremony say that it was the most dramatic moment in the history of the war.

For a few minutes Togo seemed too overcome to speak, then pulling himself together he called the relatives of the deceased and handed to each one an eurya branch to offer to the Spirits. When the ceremony was over he mingled with the throng, helping the widows into their rikshas and carrying little orphans out of the crowd. Not until every member of the families of his dead officers and men had left the cemetery did the Commander-in-Chief join the waiting admirals.

This kindness of heart makes a curious contrast when one thinks of Togo as the cold, calculating, silent naval officer. A man given to no sort of emotions, whose whole mind and spirit were always concentrated on his profession, but who practically wept when he thought of those who had died under his command, and carried little children in his arms as tenderly as a woman.

In fact, Heihachiro Togo is typical of the Japanese race. Unflinching when duty is to be performed, arrogant when insulted, the kindness of the Japanese heart has perhaps no equal in any other part of the world.

CHAPTER XXII

DISBANDMENT OF THE GRAND FLEET

CURIOUSLY enough we have an example almost immediately after the ceremony for the Spirits of the dead sailors which again shows Togo essentially a naval officer whose mind dwelt on war.

Towards the close of the year 1905 it was decided that the combined squadrons should return to their peace-time establishments at various naval bases.

Accordingly, on December 21, the disbandment of the Grand Fleet took place. It was a purely naval affair in which only the personnel of the Navy took part.

All the admirals and ships' captains were summoned to the flagship, where the Commander-in-Chief, after issuing the formal order for disbandment and drinking the health of those about him, suddenly paused and, before dismissing the parade, began talking earnestly to his veterans, who would no longer be under his command.

This is one of the very rare occasions on which Togo spoke impromptu and at length, and his words, like those of all silent men, are deserving of record.

"Our twenty months of active service is now a thing of the past, and our combined squadrons, having now finished their duties, are to be dissolved. But this in no way lightens our responsibilities as naval men. To retain permanently the fruits of this war and maintain the prosperity of our country, the Navy, which should be the

outpost in peace or war, must always remain mistress of the seas and be prepared to meet any emergencies which may arise. Military power lies not merely in warships and arms, but also in the hands of those who control them.

"Though the recent victory of our Navy was to a great degree due to Imperial merit, it must also be attributed to our training in peace time. If therefore we judge the future from the past, we will perceive that though there may be no war imminent, we must not rest. It appears to me that soldiers' lives are a continual war, and there is no reason why their responsibilities should grow lighter or heavier in peace time or war time. When a war breaks out we display our military knowledge, and during peace time we cultivate it.

"It was no easy task during the past twenty months to struggle with the winds and the waves, to be oblivious to heat and cold, and to persevere in the shadow of death with a stubborn enemy. Yet we may look upon it as a great test of our characters, and none could have been more fortunate than those who underwent it.

"If a soldier remains idle in peace time, the outward appearances of his military preparedness may be splendid, but so would a castle built on the sand which a puff of wind could bring down. Be warned by this.

"In ancient times the Empress Jingo subjugated the three Korean States, after which Korea was for over four hundred years under our rule. Once we let our Fleet fall into decay we lost all that we had gained.

"In recent times when, under the Tokugawa Shogunate, we had become so accustomed to peace, and neglected military preparedness, the country was at a loss to know how to deal with a few American warships, and when the Russians were longing to take possession of the Kuriles and Saghalien, we could not resist them.

"Now, if we turn to the history of the West, we find that the English Navy, which had won the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar at the beginning of the nineteenth century, not only put the country in perfect security, but maintained its military power over the rest of the world, and to-day its influence is felt everywhere. These examples of foreign and internal policies from ancient to modern times, from the East and from the West, were sometimes brought about by statesmanship, but were mostly the natural consequences of whether the military had or had not forgotten war in time of peace. We naval officers, after this war, must add to the training we already possess from experience by planning for the future, determined not to be left behind by the progress of time.

"The gods who give the crown of victory to those who by their training in ordinary times are already victorious before the fight, take it away from those who, satisfied with one victory, rest contentedly in peace.

"As the old saying goes : 'In the moment of victory, make tight the strings of your helmet.' (That is, lest the enemy take you unaware.)"

Although this was not an Order of the Day, it is in many ways the finest utterance ever made by Togo, and became the principle of the training and instruction of the Japanese Navy.

When Togo had finished speaking the officers slowly dispersed in silence and rejoined their ships. They were not men to show emotion, but each one felt that he had lost something very precious in this Admiral who had never once let the Navy down.

Just before the Commander-in-Chief's flag was hauled down a signal fluttered to the masthead of the *Shikishima*. All available glasses were turned on it. Perhaps it might be an order. The last time a signal had been seen on the flagship it had been to clear for action.

Rapidly the yeoman of signals spelt out the message : "*Katte kabuto no o wo shimeru.*" (In the moment of victory make tight the straps of your helmet.)

For a few minutes the coloured bunting blew out in the breeze and then quickly disappeared. A few minutes later the Admiral's historic flag was slowly hauled down. The Grand Fleet had ceased to be.

Early in 1906 Admiral Togo succeeded his old superior of the Sino-Japanese War, Admiral Ito, as Chief of the General Staff. He was the fourth naval officer to hold this position since the creation of the Japanese Imperial Navy. In the same *Gazette* which announced his appointment, Togo was raised to the peerage and had conferred on him the "First Class Order of the Golden Kite and the Grand Cordon of the Chrysanthemum".

Admiral Count Togo at once set to work to apply the experience which he had gained during the war to the reorganization of the Navy. Between 1906 and 1909 he issued a number of training regulations and manuals which brought the Japanese Fleet to a standard of efficiency necessary for a nation which might in the future have to try conclusions with another Western Power.

But somehow his mind seemed to dwell much on the war, and he is seen continually doing things to keep alive the memory of the heroic deeds of the Japanese on land and sea. He became the head of a committee charged with making arrangements for the enshrinement of the Spirits of the sailors who had fallen in battle in 1904 and 1905. With General Nogi, he planned and carried out the building of the Tower of Loyalty on the heights above Port Arthur, which was to console the Spirits of the 20,000 officers and men who had perished in the assault of the Russian fortress. When the Tower

was completed the veteran Admiral and General attended the opening ceremony, and Togo, who on such occasions seemed impelled to abandon his habitual silence, once more addressed the dead :

“On November 28, 1909, I, Admiral Count Heihachiro Togo, late Commander-in-Chief of the combined squadrons, respectfully address the Spirits of the men of the Army and Navy who died at the Battle of Port Arthur in the year 1904. With the sincere spirit of loyalty and patriotism, you fought to the utmost and sacrificed your lives, thus fully discharging your duties as warriors. Five years have now passed since peace was restored, the Imperial favours extend to both this and the other world, and your achievements will shine for ever ; but we who risked our lives with you are overcome with emotion. Accordingly, in order to show you our feelings we have built you the Tower of Loyalty on the Paiyu Hill. While celebrating to-day the completion of the Tower, we reverently pray to your Spirits.”

There were various other ceremonies of the same nature to commemorate the war, but there was otherwise little incident in Togo's life, and these next few years were as uneventful for him as those previous had been full of excitement.

The Crown Prince made a tour of Korea, accompanied by Admiral Togo, who took the opportunity to let him visit some of the scenes of the battles which had taken place during the wars with China and Russia.

In 1909, however, he was relieved of his post as Chief of the Naval General Staff and made a member of the Council of Admirals and of the Higher Military Council. During the two years that he held these appointments he concentrated his energies on further perfecting the Fleet which he had created. He knew that he was getting old, and that those long months of responsibility during the war had left their mark, and that a day would come

when he could no longer actively direct the destinies of the Japanese Navy. Without making any predictions as to the future of Japan as a World Power, he was convinced that sooner or later she would find herself faced with international problems, where a strong sea force would be necessary in order to enable her to emphasize her views.

Togo had made the Japanese Fleet second to none in the East, and at the back of his mind he knew that he wanted it to be second to none in the world.

CHAPTER XXIII

TOGO GOES TO ENGLAND FOR THE SECOND TIME

IN 1911 an event took place in the life of Admiral Togo which must have been for him one of the most memorable.

George V was to be crowned King of England, and as representatives of the Japanese Imperial Family, Prince and Princess Higashi Fushimi had been officially invited to England to partake in the ceremony. By special request the two heroes of the Russo-Japanese War, Admiral Togo and General Nogi, had been appointed to travel in the Imperial suite.

To the other members of the Japanese mission this journey was to be of great interest. Some of them knew Europe and were glad to go there again, some did not and were full of curiosity, but to Togo it meant much more than an official visit. It was almost forty years to the day since he had set out as a young cadet from Nagasaki to take up his studies in England among a strange people of whose language he had only a smattering and whose customs were utterly strange to him. No one had taken much notice of his departure in April 1871; few people had given a thought as to what he might do in England; in fact, the majority of his compatriots, including his own family, were opposed to this idea of hobnobbing with the barbarians of the West. To-day the April sun again shone over Japan as Togo once more stood on the deck of a ship bound for Europe. But

instead of a few young men waiting to say good-bye to their fellow cadet, thousands of people thronged the quays at Yokohama staring up at Togo and Nogi with reverence combined with affection. Togo, the unknown cadet of forty years ago, was now Admiral of the Fleet ; he was going as a guest to the coronation of the ruler of the country which had given him the model for his squadrons ; he was in the company of members of the Japanese Imperial Family, but he seemed to be no more excited than on the evening of May 28, 1905, when he knew that the Battle of the Sea of Japan had been won.

Great men are usually self-contained and not given to speaking about their achievements, but there is usually a moment in their lives when they betray the fact that they know that they have succeeded, when they will at least discuss some incident in their lives. But Togo never did. During the whole of that voyage to England on board the N.Y.K. liner *Kamo Maru*, Togo never spoke to anyone. There were English passengers on board who would occasionally approach the Admiral and endeavour to get into conversation. Togo always listened politely and attentively to what was being said, and often smiled, but his only comments were confined to "yes" and "no". Most of the day he sat with General Nogi in the smoking-room playing "Go", that complicated game with counters which I have in vain tried to learn during voyages on Japanese ships. Sometimes the two old warriors played deck golf ; occasionally an exclamation escaped Nogi's lips when he missed a shot, but Togo remained impassive.

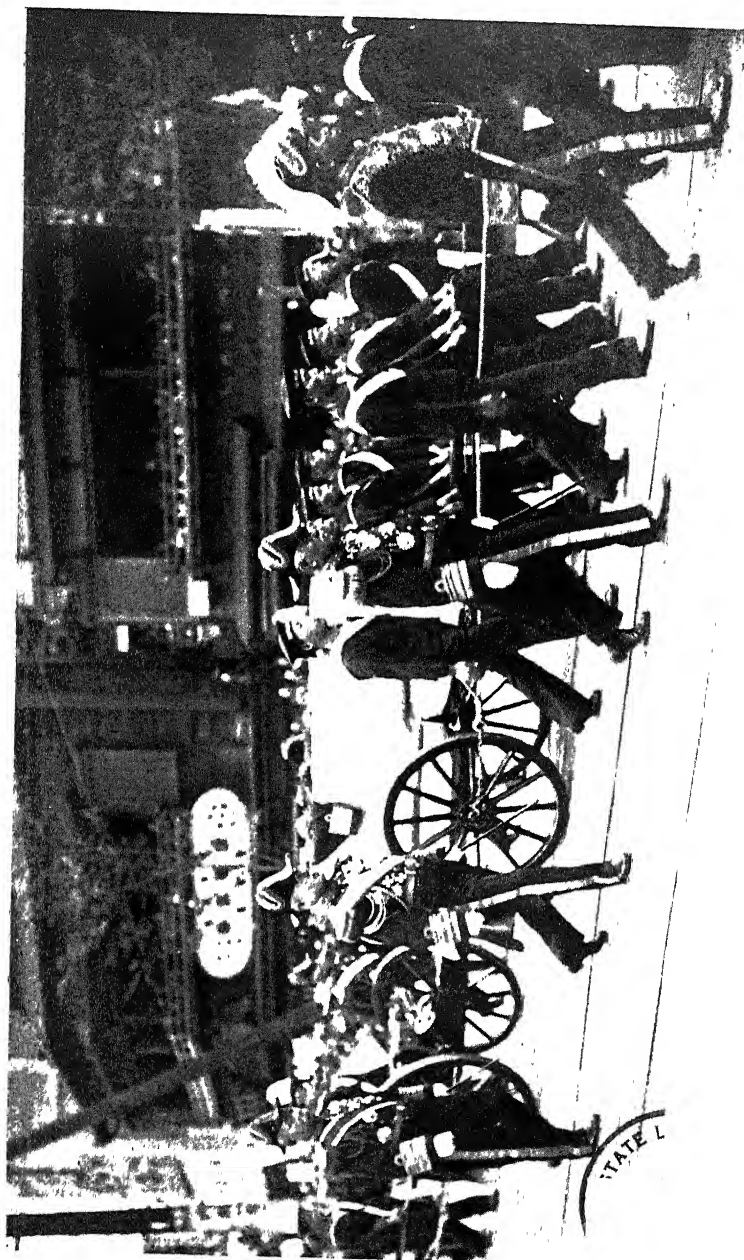
On May 27 the anniversary of the Battle of the Sea of Japan was celebrated on board, but neither Togo nor Nogi would make a speech. The next day was the birthday of the Empress of Japan, but Togo still said nothing. Even when, on the last night of the voyage, the traditional captain's dinner was held and champagne flowed

in abundance, with which the English passengers toasted their Japanese companions, welcoming them to England, Togo and Nogi could not be induced to make speeches. As the repeated cries of "Speech !" rang through the saloon, the Admiral glanced nervously at the General and the General glanced equally nervously at the Admiral ; but neither of them moved, and at the first opportunity the two old gentlemen hurried up to the smoking-room, where they returned to their never-ending game of "Go".

As the first part of the visit of the Japanese mission to England was unofficial, there was no reception for Prince and Princess Fushimi either at Tilbury or in London. The Japanese colony had, however, discovered the date and the hour of the coming of the heroes of the Russo-Japanese War, and the approaches to St. Pancras Station were thronged. But it was a silent and respectful crowd of people, bowing low as the members of the Japanese Imperial Family emerged into the street.

It was a striking example of that attitude towards the throne of Japan which no Westerner can grasp until he has seen it at close quarters in the Far East. A Japanese regards his Emperor as a god descended from the gods, as a man above mortals who can do no wrong, so that a member of the Imperial House was to those Japanese in London a representative of the Deity which watched over them in Japan. But on this occasion there was an additional incentive for those Japanese to throng St. Pancras Station, for accompanying their Imperial Highnesses were the two men who had made the world recognize Japan as a First-Class Power. Every Japanese had heard of Togo and Nogi, but few had seen them in the flesh, so that all eyes were perhaps more concentrated on the two silent warriors, with their white beards, than on the more exalted members of the party.

The Prince and Princess spent the first part of their



ADMIRAL TOGO'S FUNERAL

visit to England resting at the Grand Hotel in Eastbourne, while Admiral Togo and General Nogi went to the Hyde Park Hotel in London.

Again what a contrast ! Togo's only recollection of London had been when passing through on his way to Greenwich. He had done little sight-seeing, and his only contact with the British had been with his tutors and his fellow cadets. He had never crossed the threshold of a private house in London or been inside an hotel ; he had shyly hurried about the streets avoiding the looks of curiosity of the people whom he passed.

He now found himself again hurrying about, avoiding the looks of the people in the streets, whose curiosity was aroused for very different reasons from those which had made him shy forty years before. The looks turned on him now were not merely because he was Japanese, but because he was in the news—because he was Admiral Togo, victor of the Battle of the Sea of Japan. Reporters hung about the Hyde Park Hotel in the hope of obtaining a short interview ; but Nogi and Togo preserved their imperturbable silence, and although a few snapshots were obtained of the two old gentlemen walking sedately in the Park, that was all that the Press ever got from the Admiral who would never speak.

The only initiative which Togo showed during his stay in London was in getting in touch with his old friends of *Worcester* days and paying calls on admirals of the British Fleet with whom he had maintained relations before. One afternoon he laid a wreath on the grave of Captain Henderson Smith, under whom he had served as a cadet and for whom he had an affectionate reverence.

On June 19, however, this playing at hide-and-seek with reporters had to come to an end, for on that day Prince and Princess Fushimi became State guests of

Great Britain, and made their official entry into London with Admiral Togo and General Nogi in their suite.

Prince Arthur of Connaught met the Imperial party at Victoria Station and escorted it to Seaford House, where the Japanese State guests were to stay. The same night the official banquet given by the King and Queen took place at Buckingham Palace. It was a magnificent pageant of colour and splendour, where Togo and Nogi, glittering with decorations, followed the Japanese Imperial party into the State Apartments of the Palace and were presented to King George and Queen Mary.

It is in connection with events such as these that the biographer deplores the silence of Admiral Togo. His emotions during the Battle of the Sea of Japan or at the taking of Wei Hai Wei can be imagined, and some of his rare remarks were recorded by members of his staff ; but it is impossible to know what his reactions may have been in the midst of this throng of people of all nationalities, some of whom bore the most illustrious names in the world. Was he impressed or did he take it all as a matter of course ? Did he contrast the occasion with that of his first visit to England ? Did the British seem polite to him, and what did he feel when rubbing shoulders with the representatives of the Czar of Russia ? Togo never made any remarks about his visit to England, and as he never wrote letters, and as General Nogi remained just as silent as his friend, we can only conjecture and continue describing the events which succeeded one another daily during the Admiral's visit to England. Nevertheless, we cannot but feel that Togo must have been tremendously impressed at being treated with such respectful intimacy on an occasion of such great historic importance.

June 20 dawned in limpid splendour. I remember myself feeling exhilarated as I marched down White-

hall to take up my position outside Westminster Abbey. How pleasant life seemed to a Sandhurst cadet of eighteen, with no cares except those small imaginary troubles which youthful minds create of their own accord. I remember the names and the faces of the cadets who stood on either side of me lining the road ; I remember them chiefly because I was to see them both killed before a few more years passed ; and how many more of those British youths in red coats were to find their lives cut off prematurely in their early twenties.

I remember seeing the Crown Prince of Germany held up in his coach opposite to where we stood and, calling to the officer in command, telling him to let us stand at ease.

I remember seeing Admiral Togo and General Nogi arriving a little ahead of the official procession and waiting for the Japanese Prince and Princess at the entrance to the Abbey.

I remember the booming of the guns saluting the new King-Emperor and the opening bars of the anthem as the royal procession entered Westminster Abbey. I remember so many things which are of no account in the biography of Admiral Togo.

What did he remember ? What did he think ? No one knows. Perhaps he thought nothing, perhaps his mind was all the time evolving some new battle formation with which to defeat imaginary fleets !

When eventually the ceremony of the coronation was over and the King and Queen, crowned, had left the Abbey, and the Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal of England and of the rest of the world had been borne away in their coaches, the crowds waited. They wanted to see Togo.

A naval or military hero is always popular in England, and this hero who kept himself so much aloof—rather like an English admiral—appealed to the people.

Togo and Nogi had hurried about the streets of London in ill-fitting Western suits which attracted no attention, but when they appeared sitting in their carriage wearing the familiar uniforms of their official photographs, there was no more question of their being incognito. From Westminster to Eaton Square, London cheered, as only London can, and Togo for the first time smiled.

On June 23 a further mark of appreciation on the part of the British Government for Togo and Nogi was shown in the invitation which was received from Sir Edward Grey for his official banquet. Only the King and Queen and special representatives of foreign countries had been originally asked, but special cards were sent to the two old warriors requesting them to attend perhaps one of the most exclusive dinners in history.

The following day the Naval Review was held at Spithead. Togo, on board the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress*, sniffed the sea air appreciatively ; he was at last going to see the British Navy on which he had modelled his Fleet. The area covered by the battleships, drawn up in ten lines, was of twelve square miles. Thirty-two capital ships, twenty-five cruisers, and one hundred and ten smaller craft, with a total displacement of 1,400,000 tons, waited for the passage of the King's yacht. Foreign vessels representing seventeen nations were also there to salute the ruler of the greatest empire in the world.

The King's yacht sailed slowly down the lines, followed by the *Enchantress*. Togo watched everything with interest, but just as the yacht was passing the foreign vessels a look of astonishment came into his eyes, and raising his glasses he scrutinized two ships which lay moored side by side. Then turning to Nogi he nudged him and pointed. The General followed the direction of Togo's outstretched finger and turned to him as if to ask a question ; but Togo was already speaking.

By some curious coincidence the Russian battleship

Rossia and the Japanese battleship *Kurama* were anchored next to each other. Six years ago these two vessels had been chasing each other about the Sea of Japan, for the *Rossia* had been one of the more enterprising units of the Russian Fleet, and from its base at Vladivostock had done a good deal of damage to Japanese shipping, and had actually sunk a Japanese troopship. Nogi listened to Togo ; Nogi nodded, and both of them smiled. The impulse to speak had passed, and their habitual silence fell on them again.

After the Naval Review, dinner parties succeeded receptions and receptions succeeded lunch parties, and to all these entertainments the Admiral was invited. Everyone was anxious to see him, and all had the opportunity to do so until June 28, when the Japanese Imperial visitors ceased to be State guests and shifted their quarters to Claridge's Hotel.

However, the two days during the visit to England which left the greatest impression on Togo's mind, and to which he was actually heard to refer in later years, were June 29 and June 30.

On June 29 he visited the *Worcester*. As he walked up the familiar gangway he paused for a moment before stepping on to the deck and looked up at the masts which he had climbed so many years before. The cadets were drawn up to meet the famous Admiral, and beside the captain was a group of old gentlemen with weather-beaten faces. These were all shipmates of Togo's. Without speaking, Togo shook hands with his comrades of days gone by, and after going all over the ship addressed the cadets. The speech was impromptu and spoken in English, and it was quite evident that he was having difficulty in controlling his emotions as he stood there where so many years before he had been trained to be a naval officer.

The other memorable date was also connected with

this early training, and was the occasion of the dinner given in his honour by the Worcester Association. The dinner was held at Princes Restaurant, where, among other contemporaries, Togo found Lord Brassey, Sir Thomas Sutherland, Admirals Douglas, Fremantle, and Troubridge. The party was entirely informal and the conversation general among these men who were all, in some way or another, connected with the sea. After dinner Captain Young, the president of the Worcester Association, toasted the guest of honour, and Togo, without hesitation, rose to speak.

"The *Worcester* is a name which I have never forgotten during the past forty years," he said in English. "Those of us who are here are not necessarily mutual acquaintances, and I, for one, am of different nationality, but we all have the same bond which links us together—the *Worcester*. Seeing you all here to-night carries me back to the days when, with some of you, we were taught to make knots and splices. It is to my deepest regret that Captain Smith, our old master, did not live to attend this dinner to-night.

"During the late war he often wrote letters to me which were of great encouragement, coming as they did from an Englishman in England, which I regard as my second mother country. Among my most valued treasures at home are the portraits of Captain and Mrs. Smith and the photographs of the *Worcester*, all of which hang in my study in Tokyo. May the Worcester Association, which is composed of Old Boys who studied maritime science under the superintendence of Captain Smith and his predecessors and successors, long flourish."

This speech was spoken with a depth of feeling which surprised the Japanese officers of Togo's staff who were present. When it was finished Togo sat down, while the room rang to the cheering, which lasted for some minutes,

And so the visit continued. Everyone wanted to have Togo to lunch, tea, or dinner, and, realizing that it was impossible to ignore this hospitality, he accepted whenever possible. One day he was taken with General Nogi by Lord Kitchener to inspect the Boy Scouts in Hyde Park. General Sir Robert Baden-Powell was present and explained the object of the Boy Scout movement. The Royal Naval Club gave Togo a banquet, at which all the most distinguished admirals of the British Navy were present.

An amusing incident occurred one morning when Togo was paying a visit to the British Museum. He had just alighted from his car, when a man, coming out of the Museum, paused, stared, and then, hurrying forward, held out his hand. Togo, rather taken aback, returned the handshake and then, with his usual directness, asked :

"I don't know you. What is your name?"

"Why, of course you know me," replied the man. "I am Sanford B. Dole. We met in Hawaii."

Togo looked fixedly at the American and smilingly passed on. As usual, he made no comment about this incident, but one can imagine what thoughts passed through his mind on meeting the late President of the Provisional Government of Hawaii, for whom less than twenty years before he had refused to fire salutes.

A Japanese account of this incident gives an example of the contempt with which the people of Japan still look upon business men, and the reverence which they have for their soldiers and sailors. Roughly translated, the statement reads as follows :

What thoughts must have arisen in the breasts of these two men when they met by accident in the British capital. One, who was but a captain eighteen years before, had become a world-famed admiral, while the other, who had been a president of a Republic, had returned to being a mere merchant,

On July 8 Prince and Princess Fushimi left for Japan, and Togo, who had decided to accept the invitation of the United States Government to visit America, remained in England in order to pay a visit to some of the larger provincial towns and to Scotland.

General Nogi, on the other hand, who wanted to investigate military matters on the continent of Europe, had decided to make an extensive tour which would include a visit to Russia. In his own words, he wished to go and comfort his old enemy, General Stoessel, just to show that there was no ill feeling. When, however, Togo heard of this plan, he was entirely opposed to it, and at once called on the General and without preliminaries said :

"I entirely agree with your sentiments, and I understand your motives in wishing to visit Russia, but you must remember that the Russians endured shame and defeat at our hands. The surrender of Port Arthur, which we together brought about, was a terrible wound to Russia's pride, which it will take many more years than those which have elapsed to heal. Don't you think, therefore, that your visit might be misconstrued?"

General Nogi made no reply to this protest, but whether he was influenced by the Admiral's wise reasoning, or whether other circumstances prevented him from making the journey through Russia, the fact remains that he confined his trip to Central Europe, and returned to Japan via the Suez Canal.

Togo had a triumphal tour through England and Scotland. Wherever he went, he was acclaimed by people of all classes, until finally, on July 29, he boarded the ill-fated *Lusitania* and sailed for America.

CHAPTER XXIV

TOGO SEES AMERICA FOR THE FIRST TIME

TOGO'S visit to the United States differed considerably from his visit to England. In England there had been a spirit of welcoming back an adopted son who at an early age had gone out into the world to make his fortune and had succeeded beyond all expectations. Togo had said himself, when he spoke to the members of the Worcester Association, that he regarded Great Britain as his second home.

In addition to this, the British Navy felt that the Japanese Navy was in many ways a production of theirs. The *Mikasa*, and many other units of the Japanese Grand Fleet which had taken part in the Battle of the Sea of Japan, had been built in England, while some of the senior officers had received their early training from British instructors. In addition to these sentimental attachments, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, originally made in 1902, had just been renewed, and there was a definite feeling of satisfaction among British statesmen that they had accurately gauged the worth of the Japanese before they had actually proved it by any special feat of arms.

In America, however, there could be none of this atmosphere. To the people of the United States, Togo was a world-famed hero, a man who had been a headline in the Press for months on end, a man of mystery who seldom spoke, but one who had little connection with the United States.

On the other hand, the peace negotiations between Japan and Russia had been carried on in America. President Roosevelt had been a friend and backer of the Japanese ; the menace of Japan as a naval rival had not been thought of, and the Immigration Act had not yet been voted. Togo was therefore more of a curiosity to the people of America than an ordinary human being, and though he received as much hospitality in America as in England, it was of a much more impersonal nature.

There is no record of how Admiral Togo spent the time which elapsed between the departure of the *Lusitania* from Liverpool and its arrival in New York, but it is fairly safe to say that it was in complete silence. His entry into American territorial waters, however, was a signal for every newspaper to mobilize its most able reporters to get interviews from the Japanese guest of honour. Little did they know the kind of man with whom they would have to deal.

In London it had been possible for the Japanese mission to arrive more or less unobserved. The Press had succeeded in taking a few photographs, but on principle the Admiral's desire to remain unmolested by reporters had been respected. In America a secret arrival was, of course, out of the question, and there was no intention on the part of the papers to permit a man like Togo to come on shore without making some sort of statement.

Twenty-two reporters accordingly boarded the tender which was to fetch the Admiral from the liner. President Taft had sent General Grant and General Verbeck (the latter a fluent speaker of the Japanese language) to meet the national guest, and as soon as the quarantine formalities were over they escorted him on board the tender where the reporters lay in wait. The Admiral, quite unconscious of the ambush which awaited him, climbed down the ladder, when a series

of blinding flashes left him staring like a hunted animal at the twenty-two cameras which clicked relentlessly in the hands of the reporters. However, he managed to slip through the crowd of journalists and escape to the upper deck of the tender, where he sat down and began talking to General Verbeck about his voyage. The pressmen were, however, not satisfied, and in a very short time came swarming up to where the Admiral sat and began asking questions. Togo listened politely to what they had to say, but, as usual, made no comment until someone asked him what were his impressions of America. This made the Admiral laugh, and turning to Verbeck he said :

“How can I have an impression of a country before I have seen it ?”

That was the only remark which the reporters obtained from the man out of whom they expected to get a sensational interview.

Although it was late at night when the tender reached the docks, crowds of people had assembled to see the Admiral, and the hall of the hotel was so thronged that the police had to force a passage to enable him to reach his room. The same enthusiasm prevailed next day when Togo went to pay his official call on the Mayor of New York, and when he drove to the station to catch his train to Washington the crowds were so dense that it was necessary to employ an escort of fifty mounted policemen before the carriage could advance at all.

After a formal call on President Taft, the Admiral was entertained at a State banquet at the White House. Formal speeches were made, to which Togo responded with equal formality. An enormous reception was held the next day during which the Admiral was introduced to all the important people in the United States. After the reception Togo granted an interview to the Press ; but although a series of clever questions had been drawn

up, the Admiral was not to be caught out. He was asked about future naval armaments, about the completing of the Panama Canal, about his impressions of America. But all that he would reply was "yes" or "no", or that "I do not care to discuss such a question".

Even these experienced American journalists found that the man who had hardly uttered a word during the whole of the Battle of the Sea of Japan was not going to be lured into conversation by the most subtle of questions.

As in those days there was no Tomb of an Unknown Warrior on which distinguished men could lay wreaths, Togo was taken to the grave of George Washington.

As a matter of fact, this ceremony, if looked at from an historical point of view, was curious.

The picture of the small Oriental Admiral standing silently before the last resting-place of the creator of the Independent States of English-speaking America suggests a tremendous future looking at a tremendous past. A tremendous future, moreover, created by this tremendous past.

By some accident of Providence, St. Paul's civilization moved always westward, and from Asia his teachings carried people through Europe and on to America, until finally Asia was touched again. It was, moreover, a citizen of the United States who discovered Japan and roused her from her sleep of Rip Van Winkle and put her on the way to becoming a First-Class Power.

It is always a little futile to discuss the might-have-beens in history, but it is to be wondered whether George Washington was not in reality responsible for Heihachiro Togo. Japan unawakened, a Japan absorbed by a British Empire spreading from the west coast of America, might have remained as a kind of primitive South Sea Island or become an English colony. At any

rate, the Japanese Empire which Admiral of the Fleet Count Togo this day represented at Mount Vernon would not have existed had it not been for the United States. America created Japan, and although it is just as futile to conjecture about history of the future as history of the past, may we not wonder whether this child of misadventure may not one day destroy its creator? . . .

And so the visit continued—luncheons, dinners and receptions, visits to national institutions—until at the end of the day the little Admiral would crawl to his bed more exhausted than after some of those long nights of vigil outside Port Arthur. In fact, there were times when his suite feared that he might have a nervous breakdown; and an American caricaturist produced a cartoon showing Togo holding up his arms and asking for mercy from a crowd of people brandishing bottles of champagne.

The only really informal visit which the Admiral made was to ex-President Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt had always been a friend of Japan, and it was due to his intervention that the Russo-Japanese War was brought to an end when the Japanese, although victorious on land and sea, were practically at the end of their resources. It was the ex-President's tact and understanding of the situation which brought the peace negotiations to a close at Southampton in 1905 and created an atmosphere of temporary tranquillity in the Far East. Apart, however, from his feelings for Japan as a nation, ex-President Roosevelt had a personal admiration for Admiral Togo, and on the triumphal returning of the Grand Fleet to Yokohama after the Battle of the Sea of Japan, he sent its Commander-in-Chief a signed photograph of himself, together with an invitation to visit him at the White House.

He furthermore had circulated to all units of the American Army and Navy Togo's final signal to his squadrons on their dispersal on December 21, 1905.

Togo had been unable to accept the invitation of the President while he was still in office, but finding himself now in America, accepted with alacrity the invitation to lunch with his admirer at Oyster Bay.

Colonel Roosevelt was pacing the veranda of his residence when the car bringing his guest drew up at the porch. He at once hurried forward and taking the Admiral's small hands in his huge paws shook them fiercely while he repeatedly cried out :

"Delighted !"

Togo submitted to this exuberant greeting with a smile, and when he had regained possession of his hands asked his A.D.C. for a small mahogany box which he had brought with him from Japan. Rather diffidently he presented the box to his host, who, opening it with the excitement of a child receiving a present, again went into a storm of, "Delighted ! Delighted !" when he found inside the box a statuette of a Japanese Samurai in full armour, made of gold, silver, and bronze. Then, slipping his arm through the Admiral's, he led him into the house and introduced him to his wife.

Luncheon was then served, and from all accounts it was a most informal affair, during which Togo forgot his reticence and talked more than on any other occasion. After lunch, Roosevelt proudly showed Togo the sword which the Emperor of Japan had sent him at the conclusion of peace in 1905. Togo drew the blade reverently from its sheath and, seeing that it had a spot of rust on it, asked that he might be allowed to clean it. While polishing and oiling the steel, he explained to his host that a Japanese warrior regarded his sword as the materialization of his soul, and that it must therefore be kept spotlessly clean and the blade never touched with bare hands or even breathed upon.

The afternoon was spent in discussing all manner of

questions, the ex-President trying to make the Admiral recount some of his experiences, and the Admiral doing the same to his host. Towards evening Togo got up to say good-bye, and the two great men regretfully separated.

That night the Japanese colony entertained Admiral Togo at the Carnegie Hall. Thousands of Japanese had gathered together to honour their national hero, and when he entered the building such a banzai went up that the windows shook until they rattled.

The reception, however, had all that simplicity of Japanese ceremonies of its kind, and was terminated by the presentation to the Admiral of a gramophone on which was engraved on a gold plate :

"In commemoration of Admiral Count Togo's visit to the United States in the forty-fourth year of Meiji."

The Admiral bowed and smiled and made an extemporaneous speech, thanking his compatriots for their present and wishing them all good health and prosperity. There were more banzai and more bowing and the party broke up.

Eventually, after a further series of entertainments, at some of which Togo was literally mobbed by his admirers, he left New York for Boston, whence he took a train for Niagara. His visit to Canada was unofficial, which enabled him to obtain a little rest before boarding the steamer which was to take him from Vancouver to Japan.

The passage was uneventful, and on August 28 Togo landed at Yokohama and, avoiding all Press representatives and other enthusiastic Japanese who had come to welcome him, hurried secretly and silently to his home in Tokyo.

CHAPTER XXV

TOGO BECOMES TUTOR TO THE CROWN PRINCE

ON July 30, 1912, the Mikado died and the glorious Meiji era came to an end. During the forty-five years of this great Emperor's reign a new Japan had been born and modelled into a modern country able to take its place on an equal footing in the commonwealth of nations. The reign of Meiji had seen judicature brought up to date, a system of universal education established all over the Empire, the first Japanese newspapers printed, railways built and steamship companies organized. Banking, postal services, the learning of foreign languages had all become part of Japanese daily life, and although the fundamental spirit of the people remained unchanged, so far as it concerned their belief in themselves and the veneration of their Emperor, outwardly Japan was Westernized. Moreover, owing to the victory of Japanese arms over China and Russia, both of which took place during this reign, Japan felt that she was entitled to have her say in the determination of foreign policies which affected the Far East.

Consequently the death of the Emperor caused consternation all over Japan. The Mikado had always been traditionally looked upon as a Divine being from whom wise counsel must come ; but this Emperor had not only had his hereditary god-like attributes, but had held the reins of government in his own hands and made of his people the only Asiatics to count in the

West. The Meiji era can therefore be compared to the Elizabethan period in England or the century of Louis XIV in France, and the Emperor Meiji regarded rather in the same way as the Romans did their great rulers in the Augustan age in Italy.

Admiral Togo acted as a pall-bearer at the Imperial funeral which took place on September 15, and sorrowfully followed to the grave the coffin of the master whom he had served all his life. His grief was further accentuated by the suicide of his old friend General Nogi, who on the day after the Mikado's funeral committed hara-kiri with his wife in the approved Japanese fashion. Nogi had never quite recovered from the strain of the Russo-Japanese War. He brooded over the tremendous loss of life which had occurred during his repeated attacks on Port Arthur, until he came to believe that he was personally responsible for the deaths of all those soldiers under his command. On several occasions he had spoken of taking his life, but the Emperor had repressed any such thoughts.

However, once the Mikado was dead the veteran General decided that he had only one course open to him, which was to follow his master into the world beyond. Kneeling down, therefore, before the family tablets, he handed one short sword to his wife, and taking another himself, slashed open his bowels and fell forward beside the lady who had shared his triumphs and his sorrows.

On September 18, therefore, Togo found himself again acting as a pall-bearer at a State funeral, and sadly accompanied his two friends to their last resting-place.

A few days later he was appointed a member of the Board of Marshals and Admirals and promoted to the rank of Admiral of the Fleet. In this capacity he received Prince Arthur of Connaught, who went

to Japan as a representative of King George to congratulate the new Emperor on his accession to the throne.

It was about this time also that the Admiral first began to show signs of physical strain, and it was evident that the robust health which he had enjoyed for so long might soon fail him. The family doctor called in another physician for a consultation, and, after examining the patient, diagnosed that he was suffering from *vesical calculi*. An immediate operation was recommended, to which the Admiral at once agreed, and showed again that imperturbable character which nothing could ever upset.

Operations to-day are comparatively simple affairs, and are not the dangerous experiences of a century ago. Nevertheless, the most courageous often feel nervous at the idea of having their bodies cut by a surgeon's knife. But Togo was quite unconcerned, and on the day of the operation insisted on walking from his room to the surgery, and climbed, unassisted, on to the operating-table. He told his relatives who stood by not to look so glum, and then asked for the anæsthetic. The operation was entirely successful, and in a few days the Admiral was home again.

For a while he was not called upon to fulfil any onerous duties, and for the first time for many years was able to give himself up to a life of leisure—reading, practising calligraphy, and cultivating Japanese dwarf trees. But it was not long before he began to feel restless. This was partly due to his inordinate energy and partly to the fact that he now had practically no one living at home. His children had all grown up and were dispersed. One son was in England studying agriculture, the other was a cadet on board a battleship, while his daughter was married, with a home of her own.

However, in April of 1914 he found himself once more in harness. Not perhaps as he had hoped—on the Active List of the Imperial Navy—but nevertheless in a post of great honour, as President of the Government Department which had just been created to superintend the studies of the Crown Prince. This curious appointment he held for seven years, during which time the Prince was taught all manner of subjects ranging from history, geography, the fine arts, Japanese and Chinese literature and French, to drilling and horsemanship. In fact, the Admiral seems to have been so completely occupied with pedagogic duties that he took no further part in matters connected with the training of the Navy. The Great War had broken out, and Japan, true to her pledge to Great Britain, joined the side of the Allies, in spite of a certain amount of opposition on the part of the general public which admired German culture and German methods. But with the exception of being called in occasionally to give advice at naval councils and replying to the Emperor on questions connected with the general aspects of the operations in Europe, Togo took no active part in the prosecuting of this war in which Japan found herself for the second time fighting in consort with Occidental races.

Nevertheless, the heart of the old Admiral was with the life at sea, and there is rather a pathetic picture of Togo accompanying his Imperial pupil at the naval manœuvres of 1915 and watching gunnery practice, with the *Nikolai I*, captured at the Battle of the Sea of Japan, as the target. Togo stood on the bridge of the new cruiser *Haruma* looking through his glasses at the spouts of water thrown up by the Japanese shells falling about the *Nikolai I*. His eyes were bright, and he had that alertness of the days when he commanded the Grand Fleet during the war with Russia. Presently he slowly lowered his binoculars and, with some-

thing which might have been described as a shrug, stepped back and mingled with the crowd of staff-officers clustered round the Crown Prince. He was no longer the Commander-in-Chief.

The Prince's vacation was spent in journeys about Japan, with Togo as his constant companion. In July of 1916, finding himself with his Imperial charge in the neighbourhood of Wakamatsu, Togo remembered that it was near here that his brother Shirozaemon had died of wounds in the civil war of 1868. The Admiral had never been to his brother's grave, so, obtaining permission from the Crown Prince, he set out with his great friend Rear-Admiral Ogasawara, and called on the Chief Priest at the Yutsuyi Temple, who conducted him to the tomb. When they reached the last resting-place of the young Samurai, Togo burnt the traditional sticks of incense and then stood awhile, with tightly closed eyes, praying for the Spirit of the youth whom he had not seen for over fifty years. On the side of the grave he was able to decipher the following inscription :

GRAVE OF SANETAKE SHIROZAEMON TOGO

On the 27th day of the ninth month of the first year of Meiji died of wounds at the Castle of Wakamatsu, in his seventeenth year.

In the first year of Meiji ! That is to say, before the creation of the Japanese Navy ; before the war with China ; before the illustrious brother who now stood before the grave had won his sensational victories. Togo's last recollections of this young man were connected with the days of armour and bows and arrows, when foreign barbarians threatened to take possession of Japan.

Togo, as was his wont, made no comment on his reaction, but one can imagine the cinematographic



ADMIRAL KEISUKE OKADA BEFORE TOGO'S GRAVE

picture which must have been flickering through his mind as he stood by that humble mound.

And so the Imperial studies went on. Togo, as usual, conscientious in all that he undertook, superintended the instruction of his pupil, generally supplementing the teachings with wise counsels based on his experiences of life. Whenever the Prince travelled or attended military or naval manoeuvres, he insisted on taking the little Admiral with him, and there is no doubt that the present Emperor of Japan derives much of his astuteness from what he learned during those days of intimacy with Togo.

On April 29, 1919, the Crown Prince became of age, and there were elaborate functions at the Imperial Palace which Togo and the other members of the Board of Instructors attended. The final ceremony terminated by the Prince making a report on what he had learnt to his Imperial ancestors, at the private shrine at the Palace, and the Admiral receiving a gift of a set of gold cups.

Now that the Prince was over eighteen, his instruction became more practical, and he began taking part in official functions and preparing for the day when he would himself become Emperor. He made regular visits to the Ise Shrine in order to inform the Spirits of his forefathers of how things were progressing, and Togo, who ever remained essentially religious, always went too.

When the Crown Prince had finished his seven years of studying, Admiral Togo notified the teaching staff that their duties would soon come to an end, and on February 18 respectfully summoned the Imperial pupil before the Council of Education. The Crown Prince entered the hall, accompanied by his equerries. Admiral Togo at once rose, and, bowing low, informed his pupil that after seven years of work, during which

sixteen subjects had been studied, he had acquired sufficient theoretical and practical knowledge to go into the world well versed in all matters civil and military which a great ruler required for the governing of his people.

The Prince acquiesced, and a few days later invited his tutors to lunch, giving them all presents. Togo received as his gift a magnificent sword, the work of Yoshinori Sanjo, adorned with the Imperial crest.

He then formally closed the office of Imperial studies and having reported to the Emperor and Empress that his task was over begged leave to be permitted to go into retirement. Imperial approval was given to the request, and the old Admiral, now aged seventy-three, left the presence and went at once to the tomb of the Emperor Meiji, where he informed the Spirit of his late master of what had taken place and thanked him for his Divine protection.

He then returned to his home, where his family awaited him. It was all very solemn and formal until there suddenly came romping from the house four laughing grandchildren who, disregarding the reverential attitude of their parents, climbed on the Admiral's knees and began plucking at his beard. The old Admiral, who always delighted in children, smiled, and putting his arms about the little ones drew them close to him.

This should be the last picture of Admiral Togo, the fierce warrior of Samurai, the inflexible naval officer, the man who never spoke about himself, but one who was at heart fundamentally kind.

We remember him after the ceremony of the Battle of the Sea of Japan carrying the children of his dead sailors to their rickshas and helping the widows out of the crowd. On some of the rare occasions when Togo broke his habitual silence and spoke informally it was to Boy Scout associations, and when he was dying

the approaches to his house were thronged by school-children praying for his recovery. But although this family reunion can be regarded as the last picture of Togo as an officer on the Active List, his life was by no means over, and his retirement did not turn him into a hermit.

It was he who headed the committee of welcome when the Prince of Wales made his official visit to Japan in 1922, and it was by his counsel that the Japanese delegates at the Washington Conference accepted the terms which were eventually agreed to. The Japanese have a great veneration for age. A man of forty is regarded as a schoolboy, and it is not until he is getting into the sixties that his opinion is really valued. Togo therefore found himself frequently visited by people who wanted advice. He would always welcome them and allow them to state their case, after which he would pause for a moment and then say "yes" or "no". He never departed from his old formula and maintained that it served the purpose better than a lot of suggestions, which only confused those who had come for help.

The disastrous earthquake of 1923, which destroyed the whole of Yokohama and most of Toyko, miraculously left the Admiral's house practically untouched. The fire which had licked up most of the rest of the city stopped when it came within reach of the Commander-in-Chief's home, showing again how curious are the workings of Fate. A bank clerk whose life will centre around the suburbs and the city, whose biggest adventure will probably be a journey to Paris, may have his life ended prematurely in a motor accident or be drowned off Brighton beach. But Togo, whose life from the age of fifteen had been one of continual warfare and peril at sea, and had literally sailed through showers of shells of high calibre, was never even scratched, and when Nature pitted itself

against the Japanese race and destroyed hundreds of thousands of people Togo was one of those who escaped.

Various rich men tried to buy Togo a fine residence which was thought worthy of his position. These liberal-minded patriots pointed out that when tourists came to Tokyo they asked to see the Admiral's house and often passed it without noticing it. The aged Admiral only smiled and had it intimated to his well-wishers that he had lived happily in his simple residence as a young officer and that he would die there as an aged admiral.

Against this attitude of reverence for Togo, there were other Japanese who tried to exploit the Admiral for their personal benefit. There were unscrupulous men who raised subscriptions supposedly sponsored by Togo ; there were people who approached him and tried to make him head the list of subscribers to insolvent companies—others who obtained his signature on photographs for the purpose of selling them. Just before his death a signed photograph of Admiral Togo cost from ten to twenty pounds ; since then the price has nearly doubled.

Generally speaking, however, the attitude of the whole of the nation towards the grand old Admiral was one of reverence, and when, after the Washington Conference, it was heard that the *Mikasa* was to be included in the list of ships which had to be scrapped, such an outcry went up throughout the whole of the Japanese Empire that the Government realized that they must take action on this account. A Mikasa Preservation Society was formed, and a huge petition was drawn up and signed demanding the retention of the old flagship, and a national subscription started to cover the expenses of this project. The Powers which were signatory to the Washington Naval Treaty were approached, and they readily agreed that the *Mikasa*

should be allowed to remain as a national monument. Togo was installed as President of the Mikasa Society, and the Victory Society in England presented him with a statuette of Nelson made from wood and copper taken from the British flagship.

The same year the Emperor Taisho died, and the pupil whom Togo had helped to educate mounted the "throne occupied by the same dynasty from time immemorial" as Hiro-Hito, Mikado of Japan.

One of the first official acts of the new ruler was to confer on his old tutor the Grand Order and Collar of the Chrysanthemum, which is the highest decoration which a Japanese can receive.

On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Battle of the Sea of Japan Togo spoke for the first time over the radio. The whole of the Japanese nation listened reverently as the few words of the silent Admiral floated through the air, as up to that day very few people had heard Togo speak.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE STATE FUNERAL

THE ailment for which Admiral Togo had been operated on in 1913 and again in 1927 had been gradually getting worse, and towards the end of 1933 was declared by a specialist to be cancer of the throat.

The news was kept secret for some time, and it was not until the spring of 1934 that it became evident that something must be seriously wrong with the veteran Admiral to keep him so long confined to his house. In April it became definitely known that Togo was extremely ill, but it was still hoped that he would have recovered in time to attend the celebrations held annually on May 27 to commemorate the Battle of the Sea of Japan.

When, however, it was made public that not even visitors would be received at the Togo residence on the anniversary of the victory, consternation spread through Tokyo. People went about with a look of apprehension in their eyes, hastily scrutinizing the special bulletins regarding the Admiral's health which appeared in the extra editions of the newspapers. No one seemed to think it possible that Admiral Togo, who had been so much a part of Japanese national life for so long, could disappear for ever. It seemed impossible to realize that the end was near. Nevertheless, the end was very near.

The twenty-ninth anniversary of the Battle of the

Sea of Japan passed without any improvement in the patient's condition, and on the following day Togo's old comrade, Admiral Osumi, Minister for the Navy, reported to the Emperor that Japan was to lose its naval Commander-in-Chief. People of all ranks, from Ministers of State, Admirals, Generals and Foreign Ambassadors to schoolchildren and able seamen, began calling at the residence of the dying warrior, but few admitted that death, which had spared Togo again and again, was at last going to take its due.

On May 29, however, no doubt remained in the minds of the anxious Japanese when it became known that the Mikado had dispatched an Imperial messenger to the Admiral's sick-room with six bottles of wine. This curious custom, which dates from the dim ages of the past, is a definite indication that the last hours of a man or woman on this earth have come. The present of Imperial wine is usually made to persons of the Blood Royal, and only occasionally to commoners who have rendered special service to the State. But whoever the recipient may be, he, or she, is left in no doubt as to their condition when an Imperial messenger appears with the basket of wine.

Togo was actually conscious when the envoy of the Mikado arrived at his house, and his mind was sufficiently clear for him to hear the message from his Royal master which, among other things, raised him to the rank of Marquis. He opened his eyes and turning his head in the direction of the Palace nodded. It was the nearest thing he could achieve to a ceremonial bow.

This small effort seemed to exhaust him, for almost immediately after he fell into a deep sleep, and died the following morning without regaining consciousness.

As the news flashed through the world that Togo was dead, telegrams of condolence began to pour into Tokyo. Prime Ministers, Navy Ministers, and heads

of State from all parts of the globe sent their messages to the Government which mourned the veteran Admiral. The Mikado received a personal telegram from King George.

As soon as the death was officially announced the Cabinet assembled and proposed a State funeral, which the Emperor approved. This was a signal honour, as up to that date only nine other Japanese not of royal rank had ever been given a burial at the expense of the nation.

Togo's funeral was, moreover, probably the most magnificent pageant in the annals of Japanese ceremonies. Not so much because of the princes and the foreign representatives and the people of high rank who attended it, as because of the throng of the common folk who came from all over the Empire to see their hero taken to his grave. It is estimated that over a million men and women watched the procession which followed the Admiral's coffin from his house to the Shrine in Hibiya Park.

The day was heavy and hot with that stifling sensation which falls over Tokyo in the early summer. An enormous enclosure draped in black and white had been erected around a Shinto Shrine in the centre of the city, where the preliminary service was to be held.

Japanese ceremonies are apt to be tedious, and often lack organization, but on that day everything was carried out with precision, and it was all over before one had realized that it had begun. One might almost have said that Togo was in command of his own funeral.

For over an hour I stood at the entrance to the reserved enclosure watching the streams of men who had been given the privilege to attend the funeral ceremony.

Officers of high rank on the Active Lists of the Army and Navy mingled with old gentlemen in faded uniforms

who had fought in the war against China and had watched, with their now dead Admiral, at the entrance to Port Arthur during those long freezing nights until, to the thunder of their guns, they had fallen upon the Russian Grand Fleet in the Sea of Japan. The gold braid on their sleeves looked tarnished, some of them walked with sticks, yet there was a magnificent nobility in the bearing of these veterans who had helped Togo to make Japan into a First-Class Power.

One figure specially interested me in this procession of famous men. It was Admiral Uryu, Togo's daring cruiser leader, the hero of Chemulpo and the Battle of the Sea of Japan. To-day, however, it seemed difficult to associate this rickety old gentleman with the fighting admiral of thirty years before. Helped along by two sturdy commanders of Japan's modern Navy, the old warrior hobbled past me into the enclosure. His frail and emaciated body was almost that of a dead man, but he held his head high and his eyes looked fearlessly ahead as he sat down on the chair provided for him before the catafalque of his one-time chief.

Here and there among the naval and military uniforms the more sombre dress of Ministers of State and the occasional tall hats of professors and doctors and business magnates showed that every profession was represented at this farewell party to the silent Admiral.

The enclosure was rapidly filling up, but still more people were arriving. Cars began entering from the narrow gate, stopping before a broad gravel space as the members of the Diplomatic Corps began making their way slowly towards the Shrine. How solemn all these gentlemen representatives of foreign Governments looked in their uniforms picked out with gold and bright with stars and ribands. How dignified the

Ambassadors and the wives of Ministers looked in their mourning, as gradually the throng of diplomatists filed into the enclosures and disappeared into the ever-increasing crowd.

Another car approached the enclosure and drew up at the entrance. An official opened the door, and for a moment a group from a picture-book of old Japan stood out against the background of modern Tokyo.

It was the family of the dead Admiral, the children and the grandchildren arrayed in the ceremonial costume for a Japanese funeral. (Marchioness Togo was too ill to attend the funeral.) The brightly coloured group paused and then slowly entered the black-and-white portals of the Shrine's enclosure.

Hardly had these figures been absorbed by the crowd when two scarlet cars drew up, the pressmen ceased clicking their cameras and bowed low as the Princes and Princesses of the Blood Royal stepped out and walked slowly towards the Shrine.

Now in the distance could be heard the sad strains of Chopin's funeral march swelling up in the still morning air, while from Tokyo Bay the minute-guns of the battleship *Hiei* and the cruisers of France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States boomed their salutes in honour of the dead Commander-in-Chief.

Gradually the music drew nearer, a troop of cavalry came jingling into Hibiya Park, followed by a body of infantry of Imperial Guards. A man all alone, clad in the white ceremonial garments of mourning, followed the troops. It was Admiral Hiroharu Kato, the Chief Ritualist, who was to conduct the funeral rites.

Three officials walked behind the Chief Ritualist, carrying a white banner, on which was painted ideo-

graphs which set forth that the body which was being borne to the grave was that of Admiral of the Fleet Marquis Heihachiro Togo, Junior Grade of the First Court Rank, holder of the Grand Order of Merit and First-class Order of the Golden Kite.

There was a short gap in the procession, and then a group of naval and military officers appeared with velvet cushions on which lay the decorations of the dead Admiral. A little in advance of this group a young commander bore in outstretched hands the sword which the Commander-in-Chief had worn during the Battle of the Sea of Japan.

The officers who carried the decorations were immediately followed by the gun-carriage drawn by Japanese blue-jackets on which rested the coffin with the Admiral's full-dress tunic and cocked hat ; while on either side marched seventeen generals, admirals, and Members of the House of Peers, and behind them the heir of the Togo Marquisate.

Troops and more troops followed, including the detachments of sailors from the British, French, Italian, and United States battleships, while even the Chinese had sent a special guard of honour, which was mounted outside the Shrine enclosure.

The commanders-in-chief of the foreign naval squadrons in Asiatic waters had also come to pay their last tribute to Admiral Togo, and sat together with the diplomatic representatives in front of the Shrine ; and my mind travelled back to the first time that Togo had had contact with commanders of foreign vessels in the early days when he had never been on board a ship of any kind.

There are certain scenes of solemn pageantry which remain ever fixed in my mind. The funeral of the Duke of Cambridge, and the funeral of Edward VII I shall never forget ; and yet I was somehow more

struck by the effect of that assembled multitude at the Shinto Shrine in Hibiya Park than by anything which I had seen on previous occasions.

It was not so much the uniforms, it was not so much the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial Japanese Family and the members of the Cabinet and the Diplomatic Corps, as the grief which so clearly weighed on the minds of all those present. Silent crowds in the streets, the distant boom of the warships' salutes, the drone of the aeroplanes above, the plaintive music of the religious service. It was all heartbreaking.

The actual ceremony did not last long, and as soon as the final rites had been performed the Princes of the Blood, followed by members of the Diplomatic Corps and the Cabinet, who were succeeded by other notables in order of seniority, advanced to the entrance of the Shrine and, taking a branch of eurya leaves, bowed to the coffin and laid on it their offering. It was all carried out slowly and in silence, until finally the enclosure remained empty, leaving only the Ritualist and the members of the family before the catafalque which was buried under a mass of votive offerings. For a few minutes the children of Admiral Togo stood praying before the coffin, and then walked sadly away to the car which waited for them.

As soon as they had left, the gates of the Park were opened and the populace streamed in. For nearly two and a half hours hundreds of thousands of Japanese, most of them in kimono and clogs, filed reverently past the bier. When at last the shuffling, bowing procession had come to an end the coffin was taken up and carried in a hearse to the actual burial ground, where only the relatives and the most intimate friends of the Admiral were admitted. The interment took place with the same silent ritual, until at seven o'clock, just as the sun was setting, the mourners turned sadly away to

leave the old Admiral to his last rest. There remained only three veterans of the Russo-Japanese War to watch over their Commander-in-Chief during his first night of sleeping alone, as they had watched over him when he snatched a few hours' rest in his simple cabin on board the *Mikasa* outside Port Arthur.

Tokyo that night was as silent as it had been all day. No public entertainments took place, no music was played, and in the Palace the Emperor and the Empress together mourned the man who had made their Empire one of the first in the world.

On board the H.M.S. *Worcester*, in England, a simple service was held on the quarter-deck in front of Togo's portrait, from which had been suspended a scroll bearing in Japanese and in English the words of the famous signal of May 27, 1905 :

"The destiny of our country depends on this action. Let every man do his utmost."

The "Last Post" was sounded and then the "Reveille". The cadets filed past the picture of the *Worcester* boy who had brought honour to the ship on which they now served. . . .

Togo has to some extent been forgotten by the younger generation of the West, but he will always remain in Japan a figure which inspires respect and love. He may not have left to posterity the picturesque glamour of Nelson or Drake, but he will be remembered always as a man who was before all a patriot, who never swerved from the path of duty, and, in spite of all the international honours which were showered upon him, remained to the end a simple naval officer.

In life, Togo can be associated with the austere code of the Samurai, in death with the splendour of mediæval Japan.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONCLUSION

HAVING spoken at length of Japan's rise from a position of insignificance to that of a First-Class Power, it seems opportune at this point to make a cursory examination of what the future may hold in store for these energetic people of the Pacific.

With the death of Admiral Togo, Japan was deprived of her wisest counsellor, for although, as has been demonstrated, Togo was a relentless fighter in times of crisis, he was nevertheless opposed to war as a means of settling disputes.

There are to-day in Japan no men of Togo's standing and authority, and it is to be hoped that the younger generation will not find itself carried away by an exaggerated sense of patriotism and undermine the position which the silent Admiral built up for his country during the fifty-odd years of his public life.

All the world over, there is a dangerous tendency to start again that race for armaments which proved so disastrous to the civilized races twenty years ago, and in no country is it more prevalent than in Japan.

Great armaments either bring about war or prevent it.

In 1914 it was the fact that Germany and France had two enormous fighting machines which made war possible ; for had only one of those two countries been in a position to fight, hostilities could never have broken

out. The same thing applies to-day in the Far East. As long as Japan has an Army and a Navy which no other Asiatic Power can challenge, that very Army and Navy will ensure permanent peace.

"The Army is part of the machinery of diplomacy," the Chinese philosopher Sun Tzu declared some two thousand years ago, and added that "the greatest general is he who wins his battles without fighting". In other words, the Army and the Navy, to be of any use, should be sufficiently strong to make people respect diplomatic suggestions.

Japan finds herself in just this position to-day, and is, moreover, invulnerable if she remains on the defensive.

At the naval review in 1933, the Mikado, escorted by ten thousand-ton cruisers of great sea range mounting guns of a new type, passed before a formidable Fleet moored in serried files before Yokohama. Huge battle-ships looking like immovable islands barked out salutes, and aircraft carriers launched their aeroplanes, which went roaring over swarms of destroyers, mine-layers, and submarines of two thousand tons. A homogeneous force of one hundred and sixty-one vessels representing 847,000 tons, officered by students of naval warfare picked from the best elements in the land.

In the autumn the Emperor attends the manoeuvres of his great Army, no less well officered than the Navy, and having the advantage over the sea forces of being able to manoeuvre under active-service conditions all the year round in Manchoukuo.

The only danger of war, therefore, is that some outside nation might take it into its head to challenge the Japanese.

America refuses to admit any territorial expansion which violates the Kellogg-Briand Pact, so that Manchoukuo remains unrecognized by the United States.

Japan's "aggression" in Manchuria was, however, not deemed sufficient excuse for war, but even if it were, it seems impossible to understand how a war could be waged between these two countries with four thousand miles of sea separating their respective bases.

The effective cruising radius of the American Fleet has been estimated at two thousand miles. This does not mean that individual ships cannot steam much further, but an entire Fleet starting from Hawaii (which is about two thousand miles from Japan) would not be able to conduct operations beyond this radius and still find it possible to return to its base for refuelling. The Japanese are always talking apprehensively about those huge American battleships ! But is it not exceedingly probable that the day of big warships is over ? An engagement between capital ships can only end in annihilation of one side or the other, possibly of both, and will not the naval battles of the future be fought by light and rapid cruisers ? Even during the Great War the Grand Fleet of Great Britain never came into action as a whole.

Nevertheless, a kind of obsession seems to reign in the minds of many Americans and Japanese that this Pacific war is sure to come. Personally, I cannot even visualize the possibility of such a thing, for even if Japan succeeded in defeating the American Fleet, she would be financially ruined, and if the reverse occurred, America would lose one of her most important markets.

The Japanese and American naval and military forces are said to be in a state of readiness for instant war. Until hostilities begin, however, no one can be certain about this. The Germans, in spite of their tremendous fighting machine, were to all intents and purposes defeated before the end of 1914.

Japan, on the other hand, would probably be impregnable should she wait for the attack in her own waters, holding her Army to deal with any forces which

might pass through the minefields and escape the fire of the shore batteries. But then this also applies to the United States.

Where Japan is weak is in her lack of oil, for without it most of her ships must remain in the harbours and all her aeroplanes on the ground. The countries of the world have learned that if ever another war occurs, the victory will go to that Power which controls the greatest resources of coal, iron, copper, oil, etc., and it is clear that the position of the Eastern Asiatic nations with respect to these raw materials may be the determining factor in what is to happen on the Pacific stage. Even though Japan commands the maritime approaches to Asia, she would have to ensure a steady stream of these raw materials to aid her if she were fighting a First-Class Power having large reserves. Japan is in a worse position than England, for while they are both islands, England, though at the mercy of a blockading Fleet, has her own supply of coal and iron.

It has been estimated that Japanese industries could sustain war for a year, but if the war lasted longer she would find herself critically short of supplies. Can a war last longer than a year? It seems unlikely, for in spite of all the prophecies made about the last war, which went on longer than anyone expected, progress in the inventing of methods of destruction has so developed that, even without taking into consideration the economic point of view, it seems impossible to visualize a lengthy period of hostilities.

Marshal Petain, who should be the greatest authority on modern warfare, stated in a speech made in July 1934 that the next war would break out like a thunder-clap and be over almost before anyone realized that it had begun. He added that the nation which was most fully prepared and could take the enemy by surprise would be the victor.

At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, the possibilities of aerial warfare, the use of gas, even the development of long-range guns had not been imagined. The first tank was looked upon as a rather childish experiment.

Wireless was likewise in a comparative state of infancy, and the likelihood of tremendous flights in aeroplanes without refuelling was unthought of.

It is not improbable, therefore, that there will soon be aeroplanes which will travel automatically at great speed controlled by wireless, which may later lead to an aerial torpedo which, loosed from its mooring-shed, could be sent through the air for thousands of miles until it hit a determined target. There are bombs being manufactured to-day which on striking a battleship would literally blow it out of the water, or if filled with gas would disable troops and civilians over vast areas.

A scientist claims to have discovered an electrical ray capable of making a country completely impregnable to attack from the outside. This ray would form a kind of curtain made up of microscopic particles travelling at a velocity of fifty million volts and be capable of destroying a force of ten thousand aeroplanes flying into the curtain. But if this ray is perfected, it is certain that some other scientist will invent another ray to destroy it.

The thought of war in the future is horrible.

At Balbao the Americans maintain a first-class naval harbour, including one of the largest dry docks in the world, as well as an up-to-date arsenal. In the Hawaiian islands there exists accommodation for a garrison of 30,000 men, and with the fully equipped naval and air base in Honolulu it would be almost impossible for the Japanese Navy to attack the western coast of the United States or the Panama Canal. The Hawaiian islands fulfil an admirable rôle as a strategic outpost

for America in the Pacific. But they do not constitute any real menace to the remote shores of China or Japan.

Should America and Japan be at war, it is presumed that the rôle of the latter's Navy would be merely to acquire American possessions in the Far East. After that, stalemate. For even if the Japanese, with the aid of their compatriot residents in Hawaii, took those islands, how could they possibly consider an invasion of the United States? In the meantime, the American Air Force could, with any luck, completely destroy every arsenal and industrial centre in Japan.

The United States harbours no desire for expansion into the Pacific with a view to adding territories to her already overgrown and costly empire. All she wishes for is an assurance of trade with China, and her strategic aim is that no nation interested in the Pacific shall become too powerful. The United States would only fight in the defence of the status quo, which includes the territorial integrity of China. Japan, on the other hand, is a young nation sure of her own destiny and in need of more land for her ever-growing population, raw materials and markets for her goods which will make her sufficiently strong to rule the Pacific.

It seems, therefore, that it is not by war that Japan will gain her end, as even in the event of victory, which might possibly solve her emigration problem, she would lose a great number of her markets and could not hope to find compensation in war indemnities, which, as has been seen in the past ten years, are never paid.

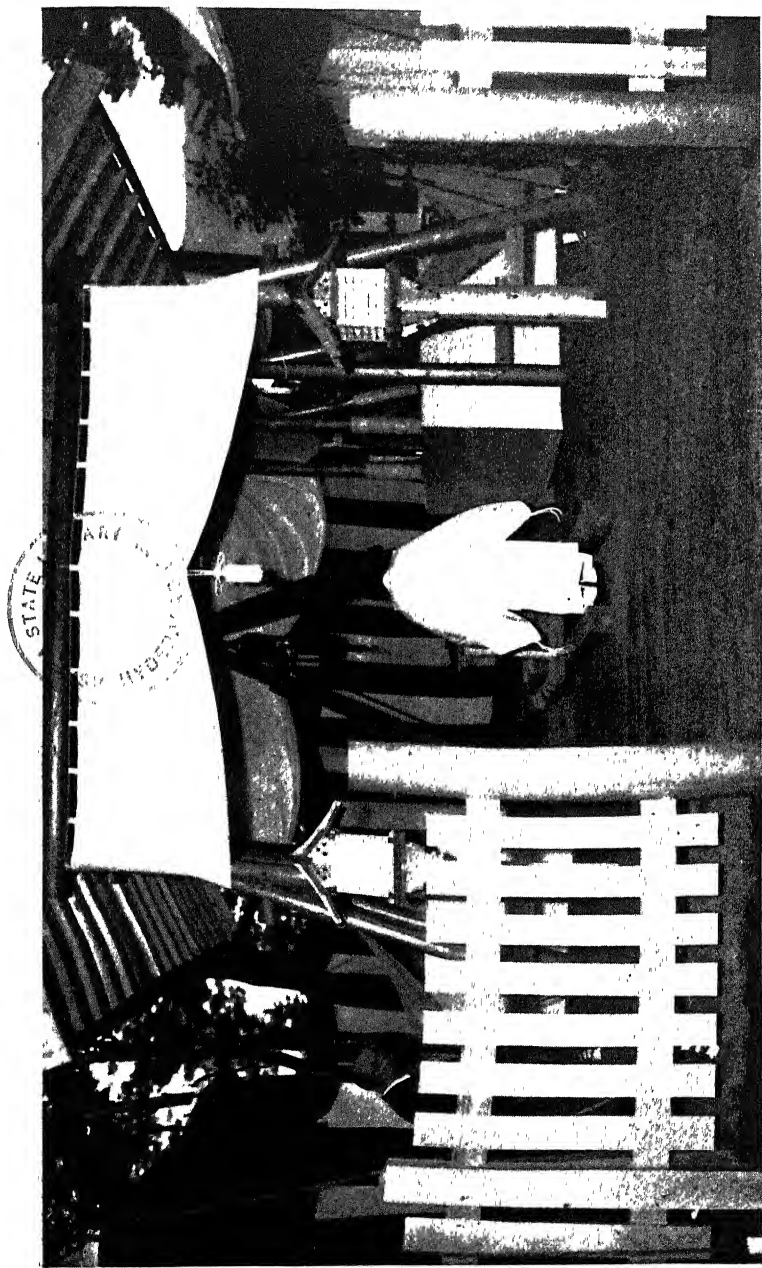
There is, of course, Japan's more immediate neighbour, Russia, which must be mentioned in connection with war. Should Russia fight Japan and this time defeat her, it would not only cause an irreparable disaster to the Japanese Empire, but would also put a stop to all British and American expansion in Asia.

Provided, however, that Japan is allowed to look after her affairs unmolested, I do not think there is much likelihood of a Russian victory at present. Quite apart from the same difficulties of lines of communication which existed in 1904, and the absence of any Russian Fleet in the Pacific, the Russians themselves, whether living under Imperial or Soviet rule, retain the same natures and temperament, which are no match for those of the Japanese.

Every Japanese, from the lowest to the highest, has an ambition which supersedes all others—the furthering of Japanese greatness. In time of emergency they always stand together. During a long-drawn-out strike in Osaka in 1934, the employers and labourers declared a temporary truce in order to participate in the air defence manœuvres. There was no question of either side giving in over the labour dispute, but when it came to a question of national defence, even in peace time, Japan counted before all.

If Japan fought China, the result would not be as obvious as might be supposed, for it would be impossible for any nation to gain a decisive victory over the whole Chinese Empire, and even if the main Government forces were destroyed, there would be no one with whom to sign a peace treaty, and no guarantee of it being carried out. The day China becomes united, she will be a definite menace, and will have to be dealt with accordingly ; but as this eventuality seems most improbable, we need only regard her as a centre of mischievous propaganda and a basis for discussions about “open doors”.

The British and Dutch stand for the preservation of the status quo in the Pacific, for though there are some Englishmen in China who see in a war between Japan and some other Power which is not England great commercial profits, there are many more who are sincerely opposed to any such eventuality, feeling that it would



THE SHINTOIST PURIFICATION CEREMONY HELD BEFORE TOGO'S TOMB. ADMIRAL KATO IS THE RITUALIST

endanger the safety of the British Empire. To this must be added the influence of the Dutch, who may be counted upon to do all they can to prevent an outbreak of hostilities in the Pacific.

If war were declared and Holland and Australia were involved, neither of these countries would have a chance of defending themselves. The Dutch have no Army or Navy to speak of, which is, I suppose, quite natural for so small a country ; but it is impossible to understand the apathy of Australia with regard to her naval and military forces. There is no Party in the whole Commonwealth which would dare to suggest appropriating large public funds for the Army or the Navy. This is another reason for Great Britain maintaining a large Fleet.

It is sincerely hoped, however, that none of these eventualities will take place. Japan's survival as a people depends upon her right to trade. It happens that her population is increasing at a rapid rate, and that Nature has not endowed her with sufficient natural resources. She must obtain food and raw materials from other countries, or a large proportion of her population will starve. To do this she must sell to those other countries the products of her factories. She does not produce gold as does South Africa, or silver as Mexico and the United States, so that her economy is distinctly a commercial economy, and if trade is denied her she will be obliged to resort to other extremes in order to save her people from disappearing. Her factory workers are willing to work harder and for less money than those of other countries, which gives her the only commercial asset she possesses. If, therefore, the world will not recognize Japan's special position and insists upon placing obstacles in the pathway of her attempts to survive, then, and only then, must Japan fight.

It is obvious that other nations must protect their

markets, but more consideration should be given to the Japanese case, for though admittedly it was Japan's fault that she remained isolated for so long, which prevented her from expanding, this should not be taken advantage of by other nations who by force of circumstances have all they require in the world.

How Japan is to expand it is impossible to say, as is also the problem of stopping this expansion. The British had the same difficult situation to cope with centuries ago ; but the world being at that time but little developed, they were able to stretch out their hands and take possession of countries in which to establish their surplus population.

Japan seems to think that she can best help herself by having a great Navy equal to that of England or America. This, however, seems rather childish reasoning, as if Japan wanted to occupy the Philippines or the Dutch Indies—or, for that matter, Australia—she could do so to-morrow with her present Fleet without anyone being able to stop her. This situation brings us, therefore, to the question of naval ratios, which in view of what has preceded must be investigated.

Before the Great War, England had the largest and most powerful Navy in the world ; but Germany, which had the biggest Army, was rapidly catching up with Great Britain in naval construction. Various attempts were made by successive British Governments to stop the shipbuilding race ; but the Germans took no notice, and in 1914 matters were put to the test by arms.

After the war there was a lull. The world had been made "safe for democracy" ; England was to be a country fit for heroes ; peace was to reign everywhere ; and Germany was to pay. But Germany did not pay, and as Germany had defaulted, so did France, and her example was followed by a number of other countries. The British heroes found themselves in the streets of

London playing barrel-organs—that is to say, those did who could afford to buy barrel-organs ; the others loafed about and longed for the days in the trenches, where, even if living in danger of their lives, they had something to eat.

Democracy started fairly gaily, with a host of small States freed from the tyranny of the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns ; but they were not really happy under their new régimes, so that the Pilsudskis and the Horthys found little difficulty in assuming the rôles of their late Imperial masters. However, everyone said that all this was a natural outcome of war, that things had been just as bad after Napoleon's exile, and that it would all come right in the end. The main trouble was the lack of ready cash and no prospect of raising it. The only solution, therefore, to the problem seemed to be to try to save money. But how? Armaments appeared to be the only line of retrenchment, and the Washington Conference was one of the outcomes of this desire to reduce national budgets.

The Washington Conference did good, not only in the limiting of armaments, but also in the smoothing over of difficulties in the Far East by bringing about a better understanding among the nations which met formally and informally in America. But this period of calm could obviously not last in a world which was in a state of convulsions that seemed to be beyond medical aid.

For some time everything looked rather hopeless. Ministers of Finance evolved schemes for monetary rehabilitation, but without finding any real remedies to their problems, while the unemployed starved or lived precariously on Government doles.

When finally signs of convalescence began to be seen, the situation changed in a rather unexpected way, for nations, finding that their straitened circumstances of the past years were easing, began yearning again

to strengthen their naval and military armaments, not so much from a desire to fight somebody as from a fear that someone would fight them. I make this suggestion as it is impossible to imagine that anyone who went through the last war should wish to repeat the experience, though I suppose the fact of the matter is that a new generation having sprung up which never endured the torture of those four years of mud and blood, a few months' warfare seems to them an escape from the monotony of life.

However, whatever the causes of this feeling of unrest, disarmament conferences have failed miserably, and the nations of the world are arming for all they are worth.

Japan, unlike the British Empire, does not have to protect her commerce all over the world ; neither does she have to guard two great coasts like the United States. In time of war, Great Britain has not only to keep her Grand Fleet concentrated in order to meet an enemy Grand Fleet, but she has to protect her convoys coming from every corner of her Empire. She has to supply detached squadrons to fight enemy detached squadrons, and detached squadrons to guard other parts of the Empire which have no defences of their own.

The area of the British Empire is over 11,220,000 square miles, and is strewn about the world in such a way that practically all oceans and seas wash the shores of British territory. The area of the United States is of just over 3,000,000 square miles, with a few insular possessions in the Pacific. The Japanese Empire does not exceed 300,000 square miles, and is all concentrated in a comparatively small area. How then can it be contended that the British should have the same sized Fleet as either of these other two nations ?

"Our Navy", said Nelson, "must ever be our first and last line of defence ; it is our heritage in peace and war."

Had this dictum not been adhered to in the early

part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Napoleon's tyranny would never have been broken on the continent of Europe, and Germany would have defeated the Allies in 1915 and been in a position now to dictate to the rest of the world.

An Army is useless to England unless she has a large enough Fleet to command the oceans of the world.

America is better placed than Great Britain, for though she has two long coast-lines, they are, so to speak, on opposite sides of the world, and it is unlikely that she would be fighting a Power or Powers which could concentrate on both coasts at once. America's naval war would presumably be fought either in the Atlantic or in the Pacific. She must, nevertheless, be prepared for the double eventuality. At the same time she has no distant empire outposts to protect; neither Samoa nor the Philippines would be worth sacrificing a great Fleet to defend. Neither would America in case of war have to guard convoys coming from distant parts of the world.

The reason that America needs a formidable Fleet is to check Japan's ambitions in the Pacific. A great and effective Fleet is better argument than decisions of a League of Nations which has no authority. It would be suicide for the U.S.A. to reduce her Fleet beyond adequate safety.

Japan's position is less complicated. Her possessions are all together, and if fighting on the defensive against one Power, her present Fleet would suffice. Japan's position fulfils to some extent Napoleon's strategical principle of the "central position", which meant that he always succeeded in attacking and defeating his enemies separately. When eventually the European coalition was formed, Napoleon's hitherto invincible armies were beaten by a combined force of Prussians, Russians, Austrians, and Swedes falling on them all together at Leipzig in 1813. If the eventuality therefore

arose—and as long as conditions remain as they are, all eventualities must be taken into consideration—of two Powers joining together and attacking Japan, her Fleet would be inadequate. In addition to this, Japan, although having no distant possessions to protect, is dependent upon outside sources for all the raw materials she requires to carry on a war. In order, therefore, to keep a flow of necessities coming into the country, she would require ships—and ships for this purpose only.

An effective blockade of Japan would, however, be an operation teeming with formidable difficulties. Her islands are fringed with fortified bases, she has the Inland Sea from which her Fleet could emerge and attack enemy Fleets at will and retire again to the protection of mine-fields, and above all she has China and Manchoukuo from which to draw supplies. A blockading force or forces would thus not only have to watch for convoys over the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea, the Straits of Korea, and that part of the Pacific which washes the eastern coasts of Japan, but also be ready to fight the Japanese Navy in any of the above-mentioned seas which the Japanese General Staff selected as a battle ground.

As long, therefore, as her Fleet remained intact, Japan, on the defensive, could do as she pleased, and by her “interior position” probably defeat her enemies in detail.

As I have already pointed out, a war between two Pacific nations, such as America and Japan, would be futile, so what does it matter what size the Fleets are to be?

England, for reasons already mentioned, must have a big Fleet ; America puts forward good reasons why she should have one too ; and if Japan wants to do the same, why not ?

What seems so peculiar is that these controversies about naval ratios should exist at all, for is it not extremely likely that in a few years’ time battleships will

be as obsolete as bows and arrows? I have no experience of modern warfare since 1918, but it seems to me that anything which moves comparatively slowly will be at the mercy in the near future of anything which flies in the air.

Yearly progress in the matter of flying is so rapid that not only war, but daily life will be entirely revolutionized in a much shorter space of time than can be imagined.

Before the war the aeroplane as a military arm was to all intents and purposes unknown. During the whole of my course as an officer cadet at Sandhurst I can remember no lecture on aerial warfare, and none of us ever thought of joining the Royal Air Force. That was in 1910.

During the whole of my service in India, prior to the war, I never took part in any manœuvres where aircraft was used, and during 1914 and 1915 aerial combats and the shelling of aeroplanes above the trenches of the Western Front were stared at in wonder. By the end of the war, however, we had become as accustomed to this sort of fighting as to our cave-man existence in the mud.

And since the War, what an advance, what a development in aircraft! Up to the time I went to Eton I had only once or twice been in a motor-car; and up to his death my father refused to own what he termed "an invention of the Devil". To-day a young man who can afford it gets a pilot's certificate and buys an aeroplane as soon as he leaves the university, if not before.

A war breeds inventors and encourages experiments, as was seen in the development of armaments between 1914 and 1918; but even without war, is it not likely that aircraft is going to supplant everything else as a means of offence and defence, and as a method of transport of men and supplies?

The day, therefore, will certainly come when the country which has developed the strongest Air Force will

no longer have to depend on sea convoys to move troops or to bring in food or raw materials.

The nations of the world do not, however, seem to find it necessary to call meetings in order to discuss these aerial problems, and the Air Forces of the world are left to look after themselves. Great Britain is planning a programme to form a great number of new squadrons in the course of the next five years, but even then she will still be behind Russia, France, and the United States in the number of military aircraft, and Japan, unless some drastic change is made in her air policy, will remain well in the background.

Japan's Air Force is, moreover, not on a level of efficiency with her Army and her Navy. Her reserves are constituted by commercial aircraft, which in case of emergency would be no match for the Air Forces of the rest of the world. The training of her pilots is also behindhand, for whereas most countries defray the expenses of civil aviators from the national treasury, the majority of Japanese civil airmen are studying privately.

Japan is at present not in the vulnerable position of Great Britain, who if at war with a nation on the Continent must have the most up-to-date defensive Air Force to protect her cities from total destruction. It must nevertheless be remembered that up to 1919 no one imagined that the Atlantic could be flown in one hop, though eight years later it was proved that the distance covered by Sir John Alcock and Sir A. W. Brown could be almost doubled without landing. To-day a fully loaded bomber can fly from Europe to the United States. In a few years' time it is not in the least improbable that the return journey empty by the same machine will be perfectly feasible without its having to land. The newest fighting aeroplanes are being mounted with 37-millimetre guns as well as machine-guns, and there is no reason why weapons of even greater calibre

may not be used in the air before many years have passed. It can be seen, therefore, that while at present Japan and America are safe from attack from the air, this immunity will not be of long duration. A concentrated raid of a thousand powerful bombers protected by fighting craft could wipe out every industrial centre in Japan within a few hours, while America's coastline would make it an easy matter for a series of squadrons to operate over American territory without its being possible to drive them all back.

Aeroplanes are quicker and cheaper to build than battleships, so that they can be replaced immediately in time of war. In time of peace, however, they wear out more quickly, and rapidly become obsolete, so that the substitution of aircraft for warships will not in the long run bring about much economy. The value of aeroplanes is, however, far greater, as, whereas the battleship can only be a battleship, which in peace time is a money-squandering encumbrance, an aeroplane can be used for commercial purposes up to the very moment that it is required to form part of the fighting force.

People are apt to suggest that the moral damage done by aircraft during the Great War was greater than the material, but in those days aeroplanes were in their infancy, and to-day the development of aerial warfare is rapidly passing beyond the capacity of men to devise adequate defence.

Jules Verne and H. G. Wells predicted war in the air long before anyone had thought of any such eventuality. But war in the air it is to be ; so why not let Japan, Russia, or Venezuela, if she wants to, have the biggest Fleet in the world ? Nothing will avail after a host of aeroplanes carrying tons of bombs have passed over the finest sea force in the world. Even if the Navy manages to escape from an aerial attack, it will be of no further

use if the country from which it originates has been reduced to ashes by bombs from the skies.

Let it be hoped, however, that nations of the world show more tolerance towards one another in the future than they have in the past. Let it be hoped that the spirit which animated Admiral Togo after he had defeated the Russians in the Sea of Japan prevails, and that the same atmosphere of solemn comradeship which we saw when the representatives of the greatest Navies in the world followed the coffin of the silent Admiral to its last resting-place in Tokyo remains.

Togo lived and died in the service of Japan, but though his career was chiefly associated with warfare, he did not believe that it was a solution to the world's problems. Underneath that rugged exterior there was a heart filled with compassion for the sufferings of mankind, and his memory should not be kept alive as the impassive naval officer on the shell-swept bridge of the *Mikasa*, but as the kindly old gentleman sitting in the porch of his unpretentious home surrounded by little children.

Admiral Togo was a pure-bred Japanese with all the traditions of the Samurai class behind him, but he was also a man of unerring and balanced judgment. The Japanese venerate their heroes, so let us hope that this veneration for their great Admiral will cause them also to remember that if Togo succeeded it was because he never did anything which was not carefully thought out and weighed. If Togo's name is kept fresh in the minds of young Japan in this way, there are good prospects of peace remaining undisturbed in the Pacific until the peoples of the world have learnt not to behave like children.

APPENDIX

Shogun—Shogunate—Shogunacy

The full title is Sei-i-Tai Shogun, which means Generalissimo of the Empire. The Shogunate dates from about the middle of the tenth century and lasted until 1868. It came into being owing to the Crown being unable, through lack of finances and the decadence of the Court, to keep order in Japan. The Emperor accordingly called in the military or feudal families to restore order and keep down the rising tide of priestly arrogance. The result of this action was to create two exceedingly powerful families, the Minamotos and the Tairas, about whom were grouped factions of retainers. The Emperor at first favoured one family and then the other, until the two feudal families, disregarding their Emperor, came out into open conflict. For some twenty years a civil strife, not unlike the Wars of the Roses, was carried on until the Tairas were completely destroyed by the Minamotos, who at once assumed the reins of government of Japan. This marks the beginning of the Shogunacy and of the so-called duarchy which went on until after the birth of Togo. Under this régime the Emperor was little more than a figurehead, respected as a divine being, but without any political power whatever and dependent on everything to the Shogun.

Daimyo

A feudal lord who held his lands by a strict law of blood succession. Some of the Daimyos became exceedingly rich and powerful, and it was to counteract any possible rivalry that the Shogun instituted the yearly pilgrimage of Daimyos to Yedo so that he could keep an eye on them. It was by passing through one of these processions moving along the Tokaido, one of the main highways of Japan, that two Englishmen roused the fury of the Samurai guards, and by so doing lost their lives. As an indirect result of this the British fleet was sent to Kagoshima and gave Togo his first taste of modern gun-fire.

Samurai

Feudal retainers of the Daimyo.

A military caste distinguished from other people by the wearing of two swords. A Samurai was taught to disregard life, not that he might enter a Nirvana, but in order to be regarded as a good warrior. He had to perfect himself in fencing, judo, horsemanship, and the use of the spear, the bow, and the sword. He had also to have mental instruction, e.g., reading, writing, and the more refined forms of entertainment. Amusements and pastimes were graded according to his rank and dignity ; e.g., he could play some instruments but others he could not.

The disappearance of the Shogunacy in 1868 dealt a terrible blow to the Samurai class, which, having depended for centuries on warfare as a means of livelihood, could find nothing not too menial to do.

Bushido

Bushido is a code of knightly honour evolved before the Christian era, and teaches among other things the care of the body, self-denial, and the unwritten laws of right and wrong. Poverty is to be an ideal, not wealth ; humility, not ostentation ; self-sacrifice and interests of the State before interests of the individual. Bushido inspires courage and contempt of death, which is the solution to any disgrace and explains the prevalence of suicides in Japan. Submission to authority and sacrifice of all private interests to the common cause, martial spirit, constancy, fortitude, and self-restraint are all part of the code of Bushido. These principles must be observed by men and women alike in times of peace as well as of war. It is to be noted, moreover, that the ideals of Bushido *are* observed, and that in moments of crisis when character is put to the test, there are few who do not live up to the standard. This does not specially refer to the Japanese soldiers' proverbial discipline and valour in battle, but to the attitude of the whole nation in times of national disaster.

Where the Japanese moral code differs primarily from that of other nations is that it is universal ; that is to say, the youth of Japan is brought up on this fundamental basis of Bushido. In Europe a man's education will vary considerably according to his social position or the financial position of his parents, but in Japan schooling is carried out on the most democratic and essentially patriotic lines so that every child has the fundamental ideals of Bushido inculcated, whatever may be his social standing.

Restoration

The restoration of government from the hands of the Shogun to those of the Emperor, and dates from the death of the Emperor Komei in 1868 and the accession of the Emperor Meiji.

It was the appearance of Commodore Perry and his "black ships" and the issues connected with the opening of relations between Japan and Western Powers that precipitated the downfall of the Shogunate system. That is to say, that the Shogunate and the Crown united against the insolence of the "barbarians".

The first step taken by the new Government was to move the Court to Yedo, renamed Tokyo or eastern capital in opposition to Kyoto or western capital; the second to abolish the feudal system; the third to employ foreign advisers to help in the reorganization of the country. There is no space in an appendix to enumerate all the revolutionary changes which came over Japan on the accession of the Emperor Meiji; but by 1877 Japan had become, to all intents and purposes, a country with the most modern form of government and administration.

Meiji Era

The period covering the reign of the Emperor Meiji, 1868-1912, during which Japan emerged from being a country of mediæval customs to one claiming parity in all matters with the nations of Europe and America.

Judo

Judo or jujitsu is based on the utilization of the strength of one's antagonist to one's own advantage, so that the weaker may actually overcome the stronger. The rules and technique of judo are extremely complicated and can roughly be divided into three headings: *naze waza*, hurling the opponent to the ground; *katame waza*, getting a grip on him so that he cannot move; and *ate waza*, striking or kicking him in a place which will put him out. In order that there may be no fatal accidents, the judo pupils are also taught to resuscitate their opponents when they lose consciousness. There are ten grades of judo experts, the highest being exceedingly difficult to attain.

Japanese Everyday Dress for Men and Women

[N.B. *Although the Japanese have adopted Western dress, generally speaking they prefer to wear their native costume.*]

Haori

A kind of cloak with sleeves reaching to the knees and fastened loosely in front with braided cords. People of good family have their family crest embroidered on their haori.

Kimono

A loose-fitting double-breasted garment reaching to the feet, with wide sleeves. The sleeves of a man's kimono are less ample than those of a woman's, and those of a young girl more ample than those of an older woman. Men's kimonos are usually of a dull brown colour, while those of the women are of all kinds of hues, varying with the wearer's age and social standing.

Obi

A sash which binds the kimono together. A woman's obi is nine inches wide and ten feet long and is of more or less the same colour as the kimono. A man's obi is four inches wide and usually black.

Hakama

A wide, divided skirt made of heavy silk and usually worn by men. Schoolgirls often wear hakamas made of cashmere.

Tabi

Socks with a split for the big toe so that the latchet of the sandal can be held.

Hakimono

General term for footwear in Japan. The geta or clogs and the setta or sandal being the most common.

Biwa

A string instrument like a mandoline, probably of Egyptian or Indian origin. Biwa songs are usually about deeds of military valour.

Go

A game played by two people with small counters, black and white, on a many squared-board. Go has special and complicated rules, but it has something about it of chess and draughts. It takes great patience to learn and many books have been written on the game.

Li Hung Chang

A Chinese statesman who first became prominent for the part he took with Charles Gordon in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion in 1859. He was a great believer in a better understanding between the people of China and those of the Occident, and when he was appointed Viceroy of Chihli in 1870 did much to suppress anti-foreign feeling in North China. Li Hung Chang was one of the few Chinese of his time who realized that Japan was right to reform on Western lines, and did all he could to reorganize the Army and the Navy of his own country. The lack of support which he received from the Imperial Government has been recounted in this book. He was nevertheless responsible for getting easier peace terms from the Japanese after the war of 1895, and it was undoubtedly his diplomacy which caused Russia, France, and Germany to intervene to curb Japanese aspirations on the Asiatic mainland. Li Hung Chang did much to help tone down the animosity which existed in China after the Boxer Rebellion, and was chief plenipotentiary at the peace negotiations. Li Hung Chang died in 1901, just too late to see the reforms which he had always advocated being tried by the Chinese.

Yuan Shih Kai

Another Chinese statesman, who was born in 1859, and like Li Hung Chang saw the menace of a modernized Japan. During the years prior to the Sino-Japanese War he did his utmost to preserve Korea from Japanese encroachment. In 1898 Yuan Shih Kai came into prominence by betraying the *coup d'état* of the Emperor Kuang Hsu to the Empress Dowager, although he had outwardly favoured the Emperor's policy. In recompense for this he was made Governor of Shantung, in which office he did much to suppress the anti-foreign element, and in 1901 he succeeded Li Hung Chang as Viceroy of Chihli. While in this position he continued his predecessor's policy of building up a strong Army and Navy, but with little support from his superiors.

Yuan Shih Kai was always against the disruption of the monarchy, and did his utmost to hold the tottering throne together. However, when it fell in 1912 he accepted the position of President of the new republic. He was, nevertheless, not in sympathy with the Kuomintang, and in 1915 the monarchy was once more proclaimed, but he was intimidated by rival factions against putting the enthronement into effect, and died in 1916. With the death of Yuan Shih Kai there disappeared the last of the great viceroys of the old régime.

[N.B. *The author has purposely not placed the headings of the Appendix in alphabetical order, but has grouped them according to subject.*]

